

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 1951

VOLUME XL, No. 10

NEWS for League Members	509
How Government Corrupts Politics	<i>Editorial</i>
The Governor as Legislator	<i>Samuel R. Solomon</i>
Making Politics Out of Politics	<i>G. Roger Mayhill and E. T. Britton</i>
Councilman's Pipe Dream	<i>Arthur W. Bromage</i>
Volunteer Rescuers on Guard	<i>Glendon A. Schubert, Jr., and Major R. Marling</i>
Radio's Rights to Cover City Hearing Upheld	533
Taxpayers Study County Government	538
They're Fighting Plan E in Quincy, Too'	540
City Repays Old Ransom Loan	543
Civic Leaders Meet in Britain	546
Professors Examine Ohio Constitution	551

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation

ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

State Correspondents

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDCE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHS AW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHRLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*

DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANGMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. MCKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. MCPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruere, President

John S. Linen, Vice President

George S. Van Schaick, Vice Presidents

Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Executive Committee

Carl H. Pforsheimer, Treasurer

Alfred Willoughby, Secretary

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J., Chairman

Frederick E. Baker, Seattle
Frederick L. Bird, New York
Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati
L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City, Mo.
James A. Cunningham, Chicago
Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N. Y.
Karl Detzer, Leland, Mich.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., St. Louis
Herbert Emmerich, Chicago
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis
Max E. Friedmann, Milwaukee
Arnold Frye, New York
George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J.
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, Boston

L. E. Marlowe, Richmond
Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse
Spencer Miller, Jr., Springfield, Mass.
Frank C. Moore, Kenmore, N. Y.
Ben Moreell, Pittsburgh
James M. Osborn, New Haven
Kenneth Perry, New Brunswick, N. J.
Walter M. Phillips, Philadelphia
Lawson Purdy, New York
F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh
Murray Seansonood, Cincinnati
Carrol M. Shanks, Newark
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston
Richard Weil, Jr., Englewood, N. J.
A. C. White, San Antonio
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, Boston
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles
James W. Cline, Seattle
William Collins, New York

Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
John Nuveen, Chicago
Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati

NEWS for League Members

Sessions to Stress Practical Methods

Several hundred civic leaders from all parts of the United States will gather in Cincinnati November 26-28 for the three-day National Conference on Government, which will seek means for helping citizens in the task of strengthening self-government. Emphasis will be on practical methods of making local and state government more efficient and producing a more responsible citizenry.

The Conference, which has been held annually by the National Municipal League since 1894, will be attended by professional and business men and women, educators, experts on government, public officials and others. Luncheon and dinner meetings will be co-sponsored by local organizations: Monday luncheon, Chamber of Commerce; Tuesday luncheon, Junior Chamber of Commerce; Wednesday luncheon, The Advertisers' Club; Tuesday night Annual Dinner, the League of Women Voters.

The annual meeting of League members will be at 4:45 P.M., Monday, to receive the Secretary's Report on last year's work and future plans, elect officers and Council members and consider questions of League policy.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries, which holds its annual meeting in connection with the Conference, will hold a "Shop Talk" Sunday evening, November 25, and co-sponsor a Conference session Monday morning on "Getting Good Candidates" and Wednesday morning on "Statewide Civic Research and Action." NACS is composed of professional secretaries of state and local civic agencies. Lay leaders of such organizations are cordially invited to eavesdrop on the NACS "Shop Talk."



MRS. FRED LAZARUS, JR.

President of the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati, Mrs. Lazarus is chairman of the local committee of the National Conference on Government. Among her many activities, she was an officer of A. A. U. W., and is a member of the board of the American Youth Hostels.

Do It Now!

1. Make hotel reservations directly with Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, and say you are attending National Conference on Government.

2. If you wish to tour the city Sunday afternoon, November 25, write League of Women Voters, 100 Metropolitan Hotel. Cars leave Netherland Plaza 3:30. Tour will close with tea at Taft Museum 5 to 7.

3. Tell your friends about the Conference.

4. Write League office for additional Conference announcements or preliminary programs.

Experts to Conduct Clinic on City Charter

Since good citizens and good officials need good tools, and these tools need to be sharpened and modernized from time to time, a group of experienced charter draftsmen and consultants will confer before and during the Cincinnati Conference on recent experience in the drafting, revision and working out of city charters. Members of the group will start work as a "charter clinic" on Sunday, November 25.

The clinic will hold public sessions Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. The Monday session will dissect the problems of leadership in city government, with particular atten-

tion to the roles of the mayor, members of the council and the manager, and comparison between the strong-mayor and council-manager plans. Tuesday the clinic will discuss city and county home rule, while the Wednesday session will consider the pros and cons of boards and commissions in city government and other questions.

Among the members of the clinic will be people who have worked on charters for Philadelphia, St. Louis city and county, New Orleans, San Antonio and cities in Maine, Michigan, California, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas and other states.

Presenting "All-American Cities" award in recognition of intelligent citizen action in Cincinnati is Murray Seasongood, former mayor and former National Municipal League president, with Charles P. Taft (center), member of the city council, and Mayor Albert D. Cash (right) on the receiving end. All three will take part in the National Conference on Government. Mr. Seasongood will preside at the annual dinner, November 27. Mayor Cash, member of the League's Council, will welcome the Conference to Cincinnati. Mr. Taft, League regional vice president, will preside at the November 28 luncheon.



National Municipal Review

Volume XL, No. 10

Total Number 415

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for November 1951

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS	509
EDITORIAL COMMENT	512
THE GOVERNOR AS LEGISLATOR <i>Samuel R. Solomon</i>	515
TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POLITICS <i>G. Roger Mayhill and E. T. Britton</i>	521
A COUNCILMAN'S PIPE DREAM <i>Arthur W. Bromage</i>	524
VOLUNTEER RESCUERS ON GUARD... <i>Glendon A. Schubert, Jr., and Major R. Marling</i>	527
NEWS IN REVIEW	
CITY, STATE AND NATION <i>H. M. Olmsted</i>	533
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP <i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i>	538
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION <i>George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward</i>	540
TAXATION AND FINANCE <i>Wade S. Smith</i>	543
CITIZEN ACTION <i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	546
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST <i>John E. Bebout</i>	551
BOOKS IN REVIEW	556

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals*,
International Index to Periodicals and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester,
Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial
and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1951 by the National
Municipal League.

Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50;
single copies 50 cents.

Patronage 'Rights' in Mississippi

A CLASSIC of naive candor is furnished by Senate Report 445, *Federal Job Selling and Other Irregularities in Mississippi*. Had you assumed that the president or his department and bureau heads selected the federal employees? Pshaw! That's merely what the constitution says! Here's the reality.

When the Dixiecrats split off from the Democratic party in the south in the 1948 election, the National Democratic Committee, in reprisal, "stopped conferring with the Mississippi congressional delegation on patronage matters" and "recognized Clarence E. Hood, Jr. . . . as the 'acting' Democratic national committeeman from the state of Mississippi and designated him to be its chief patronage advisor in that state."

Two years later the Dixiecrat senators from Mississippi stated on the floor of the Senate that the representatives thus empowered "were selling federal jobs." A Senate committee sent members and staff down to Mississippi and in public hearings heard 48 witnesses. It reported that "in a letter dated July 5, 1949, William M. Boyle, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, advised the Post Office Department that Clarence E. Hood, Jr., should be recognized by the department as its advisor on post office appointments in Mississippi." Hood as "acting national committeeman" and his associates "assumed all of the patronage rights previously exercised by the senators and congressmen

from Mississippi" and "from the summer of 1949 until February 1950 the Democratic National Committee . . . cleared all federal patronage appointments . . . with Hood."

"The Post Office Department, in its letters to Hood transmitting the eligible list for any specific job, would ask him for information bearing upon the character and suitability of any of the eligible applicants." Hood's emissaries would then "approach those on the eligible register and advise them that they were being investigated for the job and, at the same time, indicate that 'voluntary contributions' would be expected from the successful applicant. . . . The eligible selected for appointment would invariably make a payment ranging from \$250 to \$1,000 to the committee." The applicant thus would obtain Hood's written blessing but "in most cases it was clearly understood that if the appointment was not made, the contribution would be returned."

The Senate committee's conclusions blame the national committee for "taking away the federal patronage rights of the Mississippi congressional delegation." The outcome has been that the Democratic National Committee has "removed Hood as 'acting' national committeeman for Mississippi and restored federal patronage to the congressional delegation." The implication of the report is that there is where the patronage "rights" ought to be!

When will some president have the guts to discard the practice of m

using patronage to reward or punish legislators and make his departmental officers pick the best men from the three at the top of the civil

service eligible list—and let politicians in or out of Congress read about it afterward in the newspapers?

How Government Corrupts Politics

FOR three-quarters of a century we have been trying by civil service reform and other methods to keep the corrupting hand of "politics" out of the business side of public administration. That we still have a long way to go is indicated by the Senate committee report discussed in the preceding editorial, as well as by news in virtually any day's papers.

Income tax payers have, in recent weeks, been righteously indignant over monkey business in internal revenue offices from coast to coast. Citizens of many communities have been shocked by "a strange and sinister parallel" between the underworld and public officials, to borrow a description of the situation in Atlantic City, New Jersey, from Robert G. Moser, chief counsel for the Senate Crime Committee.

In these and in most other cases the focus of attention is on the public service or function—tax collection, law enforcement, the mail delivery—that is impaired or perverted by sleazy, dishonest or anti-social "politics."

An even greater evil, from the long range viewpoint, is the corruption of politics by government which is involved in almost every such situation. The proper function of politics is to determine policy and maintain

ultimate popular control, so that government is ever the servant, never the master, of the people. This requires that members of Congress, state legislatures, city councils and elected chief executives be free of any external ties or internal responsibilities that might warp their judgment on policy or restrict their freedom to make decisions solely in the public interest.

Everybody — well, almost everybody — understands that a man ought not to try to represent the public at the same time he is being paid to promote a conflicting private interest. It is not so generally recognized that it is just as difficult for an elected official to serve the whole public impartially if a part of his responsibility involves the distribution of numerous jobs on a patronage basis. The most eloquent testimony to this fact has come from seasoned politicians who, in moments of candor, have admitted that the political appointments they had to make were the worst enemies of their devotion to the public good. When jobs are at stake persons interested in them become active in elections so that the distribution of the patronage rather than policy becomes the paramount issue and men of principle are driven out by patronage brokers. Hence the paradox that the "practi-

cal" politician is interested in anything but politics in the proper sense of the term.

The evil effects of this substitution of patronage for policy as the motive power of politics are accentuated in our federal system because men operating at one level are afraid to antagonize anyone at another who has political jobs to dispense. For example, it takes a great deal of courage for a local political organization to protest against questionable conduct on the part of the state or national chairman of the party because to do so invites the reprisal of withholding patronage. All these facts point clearly to the need for two basic but entirely practical reforms:

(1) An absolute end to the nonsense of making patronage out of such jobs as postmasterships and positions in the Internal Revenue Bureau and the Federal Department of Justice. No congressman who has his eye cocked on one of these juicy positions for an important constituent is going to find it easy to act as a free agent of his constituency or his country on a matter of federal legislation if he does not happen to see eye to eye with the dispenser of the patronage. And conversely, no governor who must get approval for

his legislative program or for his appointments from a patronage minded state senate can, with equanimity, enforce the law against the wishes of a powerful state senator or county machine of his party.

(2) Divorce local — municipal and county — politics as fully as possible from state and national politics by taking party labels off local ballots and forbidding formal participation by the national parties in local elections, as has already been done in a majority of the cities and a surprising number of counties.

Who bears the primary responsibility for making these changes? Obviously it is Congress and the state legislatures. The fact that they have not been made is disturbing evidence of the hold the patronage system has and of the continuing corruption of politics by government. As Thomas Jefferson said, "Nomination to office is an executive function. To give it to the legislature . . . swerves the members from correctness by temptations to intrigue for office themselves and to a corrupt barter of votes; and destroys responsibility by dividing it among a multitude." A governmental system that gives "patronage rights" to congressmen or to state legislators or to city councilmen continues to pour poison into the bloodstream of politics.

The Governor as Legislator

Veto as used in New York endows the chief executive with an unusually vigorous role in affairs of state.

By SAMUEL R. SOLOMON*

NEW YORK has been the Empire State in lawmaking as well as in some of its more widely advertised products. Its legislature has enacted some 88,000 measures since 1777, and this total would have been considerably greater had it not been for the liberal use of the veto power by the governor. In the last 25 years alone, 1927-1951, the state executive has vetoed over 26 per cent, or 7,503, of the 28,740 bills submitted to him.¹

This extensive use of the veto and the emergence of the governor in the role of chief legislator have their beginnings in 1874, when the state constitution was revised to give the governor the power of item veto and the period allowed the governor for consideration of bills after legislative adjournment was fixed at 30 days. The vote required to override a veto was raised from two-thirds of the members present to two-thirds of the members elected to each house, and the agenda of special sessions was limited to those subjects recommended by the governor.

*Dr. Solomon, who taught political science at Syracuse University for the past five years, is professor of social science at the State University of New York Teachers College at Brockport. His interest in the office of governor dates back some twenty years when he made a survey of American executives—see his article, "American Governors Since 1915," the REVIEW, March 1931.

¹Data for statistics and tables used in this study are based on *New York State Legislative Manual*, *New York Legislative Index*, and the *Public Papers of the Governor*, for years covered.

The veto powers granted the governor in 1874 have remained virtually unchanged and have greatly affected the legislative process in New York. Reviewing these powers in 1917, Miss Margaret C. Alexander commented:²

From that date [1874] the 30-day bill became a very important factor in New York State legislation. The frequent recesses of the legislature and the preponderance of special and local legislation resulted in the postponement of the great mass of business until the latter part of the session. The importance of the 30-day bill and the omnibus veto lies in the fact that they afford the governor an opportunity of passing judgment upon the work of the legislature. Since that body has adjourned, it cannot review the governor's disapproval. The governor thus ceases to be a mere restraining hand in legislation and becomes a positive force in dictating which of the hastily enacted measures shall be enrolled on the statute books.

This picture is still accurate for 1951, for the legislature has not materially altered its practice of submitting the great bulk of its measures to the governor in the closing days of the session; the governor is thus allowed to sit as a "third house" with an absolute veto over most of the legislative product. Since 1927, more than 92 per cent of the governor's vetoes have been accomplished after

²"The Development of the Power of the State Executive," by Margaret C. Alexander. *Smith College Studies in History*, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1917, pages 196-197.

TABLE I
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BILLS VETOED DURING SESSION
(Ten-day Bills)

Governor	Total Number Vetoed	Vetoed During Session	Percentage
Smith (1927-1928)	302	14	4.6
Roosevelt (1929-1932)	1,126	146	13.0
Lehman (1933-1942)	3,029	289	9.5
Dewey (1943-1948)	1,933	30	1.5
Total	6,390	479	7.5

the legislature adjourned; in 1948 and 1949, 99 per cent of Governor Dewey's vetoes were in the 30-day class. Even with the small percentage of bills vetoed during the session (i.e., ten-day bills—see Table I), the governor's disapproval seems to have attained a quasi-absolute status, for no full veto has been overridden by the legislature since 1872 and attempted repassage of a veto is of almost equal rarity.³

Of course, while the legislature is still in session the governor has opportunity to indicate his objections to the legislators concerned. Thus a bill may be recalled from the governor, amended and repassed, or it may never be resubmitted. It can be assumed that more of this type of executive-legislative agreement transpires when the governor and the legislative majority are of the same political party and it is significant that for the Dewey years the percentage of ten-day vetoes (i.e., those returned to the legislature) is considerably smaller than for that of his immediate predecessors.⁴

³Some item vetoes were overridden in 1917.

⁴For further discussion of executive-legislative relationships in the Dewey administrations, see "Some Aspects of

It is significant that over half the 30-day vetoes are those without specific reasons or memoranda attached. Prior to 1931, disapprovals of this type were usually grouped together and vetoed in a bloc, or in several blocs, in an "omnibus veto," with a prefatory heading usually listing most of the reasons for which the governor had rejected other measures by specific memoranda. In 1931, however, Governor Roosevelt began using the term "vetoed without memoranda," for these bloc vetoes and this practice has been generally followed by his successors.

The basis upon which the governor selects some bills to be vetoed "with memoranda" and others "without" is a matter of conjecture. Obviously, it would seem impossible for the governor and his counsel to prepare specific memoranda of approval or disapproval for each of the 800 or more bills that reach his desk in the 30 days allowed.

Former Governor Lehman, in reply to the "Legislative Process," by Charles D. Breitel (counsel to Governor Dewey), *New York State Bar Association Bulletin*, July 1949, pages 271-277; *Politics in the Empire State*, by Warren Moscow, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1948; "The Case for Dewey," by Stanley High, *Life* magazine, March 22, 1948.

TABLE II
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BILLS VETOED AFTER ADJOURNMENT
(30-day Vetoes 1927-1948)

Governor	<i>Number With Memo- randa</i>	<i>Number Without Memo- randa</i>	<i>Total 30-day Vetoes</i>	<i>Per Cent Without Memo- randa</i>	<i>Total 10-day + 30-day</i>	<i>Per Cent Vetoed During 30-day Period</i>
Smith	160	128	288	44.4	302	95.3
Roosevelt	359	614	973	63.1	1,126	86.4
Lehman	1,364	1,375	2,739	50.2	3,029	90.4
Dewey	843	1,060	1,903	55.5	1,933	98.5
Totals	2,726	3,177	5,903	53.8	6,390	92.5

to the author's question concerning this use of the veto without memoranda, indicated that many of the bills so vetoed were duplicate bills, special or local bills, private claim bills of long standing, poorly drafted bills, etc. Presumably a good share of such bills could be pocket-vetoed, as in some other states, and the governor could thus escape the onus of definite action. However, the pocket veto is not customarily used in New York and, as Governor Lehman expressed it, he felt a "personal responsibility" to affix his signature, in approval or disapproval, to every bill submitted to him by the legislature.⁵

A popular conception regarding the executive veto is that a difference in political party between the governor and the legislature will result in a greater use of the veto than when the two are of the same party. This

does not hold true for New York, although there is some difference between the exercise of the ten-day and the 30-day veto (see Tables I and II) and the item veto. Republican governors with Republican legislatures have vetoed just as high or higher a percentage of bills as Democratic governors with Republican legislatures, or even Democratic governors with a Democratic legislature, a rare occurrence for New York. In 1935, when this situation existed, Governor Lehman vetoed 26 per cent of the bills submitted. In 1933, 1934, 1936, 1937 and 1938, when he was faced with Democratic Senates and Republican Assemblies, his vetoes averaged 27, 24, 19, 23 and 30 per cent, respectively.

Governor Dewey, with a Republican legislature for all his years in office, 1943-1951, has rejected 28 per cent of the legislative product, while Governor Smith, a Democrat with Republican legislatures, had a veto record of 14 per cent in 1927 and 17 per cent in 1928.⁶

⁵Interview with Governor Lehman, New York City, December 21, 1948. It could also be pointed out that to list specific objections in a bill would indicate, by implication, that the rest of the bill was acceptable; it is much simpler to say "no" via the veto without memoranda.

⁶Governor Smith vetoed 27 per cent of

Governor Roosevelt, in 1931, believed he had attained the highest record of vetoes in the state's history when he disapproved 343 bills, representing 31 per cent. He achieved the same percentage in 1932, but the number of bills vetoed was only 283. However, his 1931 record was only second to that made by Governor Sulzer in 1913, when the latter vetoed 378 bills, 32.2 per cent of the bills submitted. Governor Sulzer's record remained intact until 1951, when Governor Dewey vetoed the unprecedented number of 426 bills, for an all-time high of 33.7 per cent.

The prime significance of the veto as exercised in New York lies not so much in the cold statistics of its extent as in the reasons justifying these vetoes delineated in veto messages and memoranda.

Veto Messages

The outstanding fact that emerges from a survey is that most of these bills have been rejected on grounds of policy. Only 4 per cent of the vetoes were based on constitutional grounds; drafting defects accounted for 10 per cent, while 12 per cent were bills considered "unnecessary," many being duplicates of bills already signed. Thus, 74 per cent of the vetoes were based on policy, a percentage that perhaps could be increased further if the governor's interpretation of some of the foregoing reasons could also be regarded as an expression of executive policy.

the bills submitted to him in 1919, his first year in office. His veto average for all of his eight years in office, 1919-1920, and 1923-1928, was 18 per cent. Governor Dewey vetoed 29.6 per cent in 1943, his first year, and 28.3 per cent in 1949. In 1950, he vetoed 347 bills, or 29.5 per cent.

Of even greater significance, perhaps, is the prominence in this "policy" group of the large percentage of bills disapproved as being "contrary to the public interest." This seems to coincide with earlier studies of the veto power in Nebraska and Illinois and more recent surveys in Pennsylvania and Alabama, depicting the executive veto as a weapon to protect the people, and the governor as a modern St. George slaying the dragon of "vicious legislation" with his veto sword.

According to the statements made by the executives, particularly Governors Smith and Roosevelt, the legislators would have "given the whole state away" time and again had it not been for the careful surveillance by the governor, the guardian of the people. Governor Lehman did not hesitate to take even his one Democratic legislature to task for legislation "not in the public interest." All three of these governors were able to capitalize on friction with the legislature by "going to the people" in the role of "protector" of the voters from the "evil influences" of their own legislative representatives.

Governor Dewey, having a majority of his own party in control of both houses for all of his terms in office, has not found it necessary to criticize the legislature in the same fashion. The percentage of bills vetoed by Mr. Dewey in the "public interest" class, however, ranks with that of his Democratic predecessors though his language is more subdued and the term "contrary to public interest" is not employed as frequently. Governor Dewey did not have occasion to "go to the people" over

conflict with the legislature until the uprising—unprecedented for him—over his 1949 budget.

The story of the item veto during the 1927-1948 period is highlighted by the vigorous use made of it by Roosevelt and Lehman to resist what they considered to be legislative encroachments upon the principle of the executive budget added to the state constitution in 1927. It fell to Governor Roosevelt, a few weeks after his inauguration in 1929, to submit the first budget under this provision, one which contained some \$56,000,000 in lump-sum appropriations which the governor proposed to itemize before the beginning of the fiscal year.

The Item Veto

The legislature passed this budget but added a provision that the "appropriations hereby made . . . shall be expended in accordance with a schedule to be approved by the governor, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee." Governor Roosevelt vetoed the items segregated under this provision in order, he said, "to prevent an unconstitutional raid on the executive budget system," and his action was upheld by the Court of Appeals later that year.⁷

In 1930, Governor Roosevelt and the legislature again clashed on the form of the executive budget, although not quite as seriously as in the 1929 session. The 1930 dispute reached its climax when the governor vetoed a number of items in the "revised version" of his budget bill. The

legislature apparently did not wish to risk another court battle and most of the amount item-vetoed was finally returned to the budget on the basis stipulated by the governor. Mr. Roosevelt's success in maintaining what he felt to be the integrity of the executive budget principle, and his use of the item veto as an instrument in protecting that budget, seems to have been well crystallized by the end of these first two years.

Governor Lehman made use of the item veto in every one of his ten years in office except the last, 1942. Most of these vetoes were on grounds of economy.⁸

Governor Dewey has used the item veto only twice—in 1947—and only to correct "inadvertencies" of \$500 each in a salary schedule. With a legislative majority of his own party, there were no counterparts to the "battles of the budget" common to his Democratic predecessors until the uprising in 1949. Prior to that, Governor Dewey's budget had been enacted practically as submitted to the legislature.

It remains now to consider the role of the governor as chief legislator, a role which has been enhanced

⁷In 1939, ten years after the Roosevelt conflict over lump-sum items, the governor and the legislature again went to court over this issue, but the situation of 1929 was reversed; Governor Lehman had submitted detailed line items; the legislature had not only reduced the amounts but substituted lump-sum items. Governor Lehman allowed the main bill to become law without his signature and then challenged its legality in the courts. His position was upheld on June 15, 1939, by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in a divided vote, and by the Court of Appeals unanimously on June 21. See *People v. Tremaine*, 281 New York 1.

⁸*People v. Tremaine*, 1929, 252 New York 27.

in New York during the last three decades by four successive strong governors. While the liberal use of the veto is a definite factor in this role, it is but one side of the coin; the other side, and the one the governor prefers to keep face up, is the success of his positive action in approving legislation, legislation which he has recommended. While administrative success is certainly not overlooked or underpublicized, it is to his legislative program that the governor points with particular pride. The veto memorandum says, "This measure is contrary to sound public policy." The approval memorandum says, "This is in line with what I recommended to your honorable bodies on such and such a date."

Governor Chief Legislator

While some commentators have expressed concern over this growing power of the executive in the legislative process, especially with regard to the veto exercised largely on the grounds of policy, it has also been emphasized that the governor is chief legislator because the legislature allows him to be; the New York governor's veto is absolute because the legislature makes it so; and his ability to capitalize on the dual role of chief protector of the public interest as well as of chief legislator is also made possible by the nature of much of the legislation that is introduced.

What apparently has happened in New York during the past 75 years, and has crystallized in the last 30, is that the governor has emerged as chief legislator because of the acclimatization of the electorate to the belief that the democratic tradition of representative government is best

upheld when chief reliance is placed in the governor rather than in the legislature. A long line of vigorous governors has been largely responsible for this belief and the legislators themselves have not been able successfully to refute it. This is indeed a far cry from the status of the royal governors and the state governors who followed in the early years of the commonwealth's history.

This picture of the governor and his part in the legislative process is not new. More than 40 years ago it was drawn by Gamaliel Bradford:

In large affairs, affecting all the people, they [the legislators] have lost their initiative, because their time and strength are taken up with the petty interests of their constituents. For them they run errands, seek offices, work for local appropriations. Somebody else has to take the broad view, to look after the nation or the state, while they are absorbed with Buncombe County or Podunk. And this somebody is getting to be more and more the directly elect of all the people. To a president or governor thus chosen, all the people are coming to look increasingly, not merely for administration but for impulse and driving power in legislation.

The picture may have changed somewhat. It certainly would be criticized by today's legislator and he might argue, with some justification, that if he is an "errand boy" local pressures make him one. But the state executive in New York, as in other states, can still take comfort in the thought that "although the wisdom of a single veto might be questioned, the governors have not seriously abused the confidence of the people."

⁹Quoted in *The Bicameral Principle in the New York Legislature*, by David L. Colvin, 1913, page 110.

Taking Politics Out of Politics

Use of voting machines for the nomination of candidates by state party conventions in Indiana thwarts boss rule.

By G. ROGER MAYHILL and E. T. BRITTON*

GROANED a long time Hoosier political boss at the conclusion of his party's 1948 state nominating convention, "Indiana has just taken the politics out of politics." The disgruntled party leader referred to the use of secret voting machines by the delegates at party conventions.

Indiana is the first state to employ voting machines in state conventions. Under state law both Republicans and Democrats use this unique system, which is attracting attention throughout the nation as it is considered a compromise between a statewide primary and a state convention effectively dominated by party bosses.

Indiana voters select 1,500 to 2,000 delegates in a statewide primary who in turn choose, in a convention, party candidates for the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, U. S. senator and other state administrative and judicial offices. Delegates in many counties have been picked or approved by the county chairman and they have voted in many cases as the chairmen desired at the convention, not as the majority of the voters back home preferred. The voting machine, however, offers a conscientious delegate an opportunity to thwart party dictation by casting his vote privately

for the best available candidate rather than for a political hack selected by leaders in a smoke-filled room.

That voting machines hurt boss rule in Indiana was evident the first year they were put in effect. In 1948 the pre-convention heavy favorite for the Republican gubernatorial nomination was the well known U. S. Senator William E. Jenner. Regular Republican leaders were unable to maintain Senator Jenner's support as delegates voting secretly on machines nominated one of his two opponents on the second ballot, Hobart Creighton.

Past Indiana conventions were uproarin' affairs. After the first outbursts of passionate oratory by the temporary and permanent chairmen, the delegates would settle back to the business of selecting candidates. To do this counties were called alphabetically. As the voting proceeded, suspense reigned as the several candidates for office calculated excitedly and waited in sustained hope for the sweetness of holding the lead. Hurrying and scurrying politicians glided from delegation to delegation, threatening, cajoling and entreating with the usual last minute confidential dope that, "Marion County will go to Tom Jones on this ballot." They hoped in this way to bring into line enough small counties to put Jones across.

Then came those awesome moments near the middle of the roll call when the breath of the entire con-

*Dr. Mayhill is assistant professor of history at Purdue University, where he has been teaching since 1937. Mr. Britton has been an instructor in government at Purdue since 1948 as well as a political science major.

vention seemed to be stopped as it waited for the largest counties, such as Marion (Indianapolis) and Lake (Gary), to announce definitely and thereby end the recurrent rumors as to where they stood. Sometimes these large counties split the vote among all the candidates, uncertain themselves as to the winner. But when enough large counties seemed to be in agreement, then numerous small counties would jump on the band wagon to curry favor with the successful candidate, who would possibly be the next governor and undoubtedly remember in distributing patronage how each county had voted. Voting machines have forestalled these tactics.

Apathy Disappears

Lack of color at the convention has been replaced by apparent new interest on the part of the delegates in the voting machine proceedings. Jap Cadou, Jr., in the *Indianapolis Star*, described the June 1948 Republican convention as follows:

The convention hall was a strange contrast to the apathetic scene of two years ago when the Gates machine steam roller trundled through the coliseum and pushed candidates on to the state ticket in a matter of minutes. Practically every delegate was on hand all day. The Henry County delegation, for instance, brought box lunches for all so it would not have to leave the floor even for food.

The machines are arranged so no person can see how any delegate votes. Each candidate for office is entitled to one watcher at each machine, who is given full authority to check the voting machine before and after each ballot. The machines are also attended by an inspector and

two clerks appointed by the chairman of the state central committee. Their task and responsibility is the same as that of workers in election precincts.

To facilitate voting, enough machines must be available so that no more than 75 delegates use any one machine. Each machine is numbered and, before voting, delegates must announce their names, sign a poll list and be checked by the clerks on the official list of delegates and proxies furnished by the state central committee of the party. If necessary to establish proof of their right to vote, delegates may be required to present their certificates of election to the clerks and inspectors at the machine.

As to the success of the plan, a Purdue University survey by questionnaires and personal interviews indicates that it is approved overwhelmingly by editors, politicians and voters.

Typical of the support is that of former Governor Ralph Gates, who originated the voting machine law and assisted its passage through the legislature in 1947. Gates commented:

I am in favor of the new system of using voting machines. In the two state conventions where I have seen them operated, it has been very successful. . . . I feel that it is very economical and gives us a representative convention—a thing we never had in the past. At the same time it does not cost the people of Indiana nor the candidate a lot of money and is true in the direct primary for all candidates.

Equally favorable was Democratic State Chairman Ira Haymaker who replied:

It gives each delegate the chance to represent the rank and file of the party without being subjected to pressure by party leaders, officials or pressure groups.

The answers indicated that the county chairman had not lost all his power but was now more of an advisor than a dictator. As former Congressman Andrew Jacobs of Indianapolis declared, the delegate "will cast his vote without being subject to the surveillance of those who might control his job or have other political favors to offer."

Better Type Delegate

The caliber of the individual delegate under this system becomes more important than ever. In several places more spirited contests have occurred for this job which formerly was not considered important. When the delegate can vote his sentiments or that of his constituents, he becomes more powerful in his own right and, if more people will realize this, they may become candidates for delegate jobs. As former Secretary of State Charles Fleming said: "Filing as a delegate to the state convention does not receive the proper consideration as far as the importance of the elected office is concerned."

Another revolutionary change made by the voting machine law requires that nomination of minor state offices, beginning with state superintendent of public instruction and in presidential years the presidential electors, be made first and that nominations for governor and United States senator be last. In the old

conventions, many delegates left after nominations had been made for senator and governor, leaving the county chairman with proxies to be voted as he wished for the rest of the state offices. Also the group who picked the governor or senator quite often could nominate the rest of the state ticket.

The 1951 state legislature speeded the voting procedure tremendously by allowing the state central committee, if it so desires, to have the convention vote on all offices at one time. This is really streamlining political meetings.

The majority of those who participate in and follow Indiana politics seem to agree with Hobart Creighton, Republican candidate for governor in 1948, who endorsed this new method whole-heartedly:

In my opinion, after the delegates are chosen by the voters they can go to the convention and vote for candidates of their choice without any fear of political punishment. So, I think this system of voting in Indiana is about as fair as any convention system could be and certainly at this time I would not want to replace it by any other system.

If voting machines can successfully improve the caliber of candidates in a state political convention, perhaps they could be utilized in the national nominating conventions for president of the United States. The 1950 contests in Indiana conventions were minor, but the system will bear watching as a possible national reform.

A Councilman's Pipe Dream

Frustrated by city government problems under antiquated charter, official visions efficiency with city manager.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE*

ONE night in late February Councilman John P. (Public) Servant left the city hall and drove homeward. It had been a long meeting with knotty problems admixed with oratory. He looked forward to home and the fireplace. Watching the snow flakes spit against his windshield, he thought vaguely of the public works crews who would be out at 2 A.M. "Worse than being a councilman," he muttered.

Councilman John placed the car in the garage and poked his head in the kitchen door. From upstairs his wife Margaret called out in a laconic voice: "Late again, dear! We had a letter from young Jimmy at prep school and another from Betsy. Anything happen at city hall?"

John advanced to the foot of the main stairway and called upward: "Nothing much; about as usual. I'll read the children's letters and the paper by the fire. I'll tell you about council in the morning." Then he remembered his doctor's admonitions. He turned away to the kitchen, got a tall glass of milk from the refrigerator and paddled back to the living room. Meanwhile, he had divested himself of hat, coat, rubbers and all mimeographed reports and resolutions accumulated at council meeting.

*Dr. Bromage is professor of political science at the University of Michigan as well as a city councilman in Ann Arbor. He is author of numerous articles and texts on local government, including *Introduction to Municipal Government and Administration* (1950).

Settled in his favorite chair before the dying embers, John packed and fired his oversize pipe. He read the letters and pushed on to the evening paper. He heard his wife's reading lamp click off but the little bedside radio continued to grind out the tunes of yesteryear.

John struck another match to his pipe and rustled through the paper to reach the editorial page. He tried to read a brilliant editorial blast about American foreign policy but his mind kept wandering to the current problem at city hall—they must get that land for sanitary fill and stop feeding garbage to hogs. He was only in his second term but he could scarcely remember what it was like to be a private citizen rather than a public servant.

"The firemen," he surmised, "will never be satisfied until their pay is even-Steven across the board, rank for rank, with the policemen. The fire chief made that obvious by his lukewarm greeting tonight. The department heads are all on edge anyway. We ought to raise their salaries. Paying a police chief \$5,800—ridiculous. Cities don't know what management is worth."

With his paper before him, Councilman John's mind raced forward. He remembered the differential between traffic signals needed and money available. Curb and gutter falling apart in the old sections, he murmured. More police squad cars, more fire engines, more personnel, more of

everything at higher costs, the department heads insisted. Even the even-tempered public health officer was riding in hard for more public health nurses. And the business men kept up a chorus for steady tax rates, attractive to new industries! "Look at the city hall; no, don't look at it," he said, half out loud.

The wind moaned at the southeast corner of the house on Boulevard Lane and the old apple tree scratched its barren branches against the water spout. In the distance, downtown, the wail of sirens portended a fire or a traffic accident on a bad night. The embers of the fireplace were dying but the warm blast of air still smote John full in the face. He put his pipe on the stand. Upstairs, his wife's radio was still playing softly; the disc jockey had switched to an old lyric, "Tea for Two." John's chin began to sag to his necktie and he snored intermittently.

A Dream City Hall

In his pipe dreams John now wandered in a world which was wondrous to behold. The old, dreary city hall had miraculously disappeared. In its place stood a gleaming building with limestone facade. "Why," John mused, "it looks like a modern telephone office building; must have cost \$2,000,000." It stood in a block by itself, surrounded by lovely shrubs and trees. John entered. He couldn't believe his eyes. On the right was a complaint and information office and a trim young thing was answering the telephone with poise and assurance. On the left was a city clerk's office with a low counter and chairs for waiting voters. Across the

hall he could see modern counters and teller cages where people could pay tax bills, water bills, license fees, service charges of all kinds. Beyond, he saw a big airy room sectionalized with glass partitions.

There it is, John imagined. All the financial operations have been integrated. The budget officer, chief accountant, treasurer, assessor and purchasing agent, as well as their personnel, are all in the same office! He did not dare look too closely for fear the whole force would suddenly disappear behind the old plaster walls and wooden partitions.

At the end of the hall he saw a sign which intrigued him enormously. It read, City Manager. In an outer office he could see a woman typing and through another door he could see a man talking with the police chief and the fire chief. John was startled, for in his memory he knew better; he must have remembered how the whole campaign for charter revision had bogged down.

Nevertheless, he went on in and the manager, rising, waved him to a chair. John listened. The manager and the two department heads were talking about next year's budget. The manager was trying to iron out the differences between the two departments. They were talking about better coordination at fires! Looking into the rear courtyard, it suddenly dawned on John that the right rear wing of the new city hall housed a central fire station and the left rear wing comprised the police department.

John couldn't wait to get upstairs in *this* city hall, so he excused himself. On the second floor, he marveled that the city engineer actually had space

enough for his employees. The park and recreation department was right across the way and down the hall was a city planning office with four employees! How times had changed. The health department had a modern "lab" right here on the front, and the office doors were labeled City-county Coordinated Health Department!

Ideal Council Chamber

By this time John was eager to see the council room but he was told it was on the first floor. He retraced his steps. Sure enough. He had missed it on the left when he came in the front door. Why, it was a small room! There were only seven desks for councilmen, a few seats for manager, city officers and press and about 25 chairs for the public. But the whole place was wired for radio.

John was conscious of someone by his side. It was the manager, who pointed out that few taxpayers came to council anymore. Those who wanted to do so could always listen to council on the radio. Most complaints were routed to administrative officers and never reached council. The council room was designed so it could be used for committee meetings, conferences, planning commission, boards of appeals. There was a central roster in the clerk's office on which all meetings were posted. Red hot issues, the manager explained, were scheduled for public hearing in the municipal auditorium, one of the buildings in the civic center. John gasped and repeated "The municipal auditorium!"

John couldn't resist sitting down at one of the councilman's desks. Before him he saw a small collection of

documents: charter, council rules, budget document, ordinances, personnel rules and regulations, book of administrative charts, intra-municipal newsletters. They were in loose-leaf binders and kept up to date. On the desk under a glass top was an understandable map of the city. It gave one a visual picture of streets and boulevards, fire substation layout, parks and playgrounds, public works yards, municipally owned utilities, schools and hospitals. John began to study it. His old training made him quick and sure in spotting lack of facilities and future problems.

He suddenly realized that the municipally owned parking lots and a loop arterial avenue had solved the downtown traffic mess. He looked out the window and comprehended that the traffic lights were progressive. Traffic was moving surely and systematically. He saw a gleaming white refuse truck go by. "We have a sanitary fill now," the manager explained. "It's on the west side and no one has complained about it for three months." John exclaimed: "This is either some other city or it's the year 2000 A.D.!"

John stirred in his easy chair by the cooling fireplace. He heard the discordant symphony of his telephone bell. He rubbed his eyes and pulled himself together. He slowly comprehended that he had fallen asleep but was again awake. Probably the newspaper calling, he conjectured. Must want to check a story. He made his way out into the hall and picked up the telephone. It was the mayor and his tone was tense. What he said made John wide awake.

(Continued on Page 532)

Volunteer Rescuers on Guard

All parts of New Jersey are covered by well trained first aid squads, each equipped with its ambulance.

By **GLENDON A. SCHUBERT, JR.,** and **MAJOR R. MARLING***

WHEN, on February 6, 1951, a Pennsylvania Railroad commuter train left the tracks while crossing a temporary wooden trestle at Woodbridge, New Jersey, killing 83 and injuring over 300 passengers, the volunteer first aid and rescue squads of that and nearby communities were on the scene within minutes. Although ambulances and medical aid from all over the area finally reached the disaster, the immediate burden was borne by these units.

New Jersey is the only state which provides free statewide ambulance, first aid and rescue services. This has been accomplished with a minimum burden to the taxpayers. There are 347 first aid and rescue squads in its 21 counties, practically all of them equipped with one or more ambulances.

The current emphasis on civil defense makes particularly relevant this experiment in democratic self-help. In a state not otherwise known for nonpartisanship it has been conspicuous for its freedom from political influence and made possible almost exclusively by the volunteer efforts and money of several hundred thousand citizens.

*Dr. Schubert, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Franklin and Marshall College, was until this fall lecturer in political science at Rutgers University. Mr. Marling, recently graduated from Rutgers, was a major in political science and a student of Dr. Schubert.

In most of the country people are living under frontier conditions so far as the availability of ambulance, first aid and rescue service is concerned. Only in cities of 10,000 or over does there normally exist, through public or private agencies, the organization and fiscal support to provide them. In such cities rescue work is usually a responsibility of police or fire departments, first aid service may be furnished by ambulance attendants in addition to the police and firemen; and ambulance transportation, generally on a fee basis, by both public and private hospitals. In some places one or more ambulances are operated by the police or fire departments; in others, private enterprise has moved into the vacuum.

In Syracuse, New York, and Memphis, Tennessee, the morticians have dual-purpose hearses which double as ambulances. The first hearse to the scene of an accident transports the case and, of course, if the patient should die, that company has an obvious tactical advantage over competitors in the offering of funeral services. In Los Angeles and Philadelphia there are commercial ambulance corporations whose business is exclusively devoted to transporting patients. They also furnish some emergency first aid service, such as oxygen en route.

The fee charged for ambulance service, except in the case of tax-supported police and fire departments

and public hospitals for indigent patients, is usually from \$5 to \$25 per call, tending to be nearer the higher figure.

Setup in Middlesex

New Jersey's Middlesex County, with 24 squads serving its 25 municipalities, will receive particular attention here. This county is within the New York metropolitan district with an area of 324 square miles and 265,000 people. The northern third is industrial and the rest agricultural. There are three cities, eleven boroughs and eleven townships. The northern third is separated from the southern part by the Raritan River, which can be crossed by vehicular traffic only near the cities of New Brunswick, and Perth Amboy and South Amboy, located on the western and eastern borders, respectively.

All four of the county's hospitals are private institutions, two of them in New Brunswick and one in each of the Amboys. Middlesex squads provide routine emergency service to five hospitals in the bordering counties of Mercer, Somerset, Monmouth and Union as well, since nine squads are closer to one of these than to any of the hospitals in the county. This emphasizes the now commonplace fact that political boundaries are irrelevant so far as the existence of service needs and the planning of efficient and economical administrative areas are concerned.

During 1934-38, when eleven new squads were organized in Middlesex, the volunteer ambulances discovered that non-county hospitals would not accept emergency indigent cases who were county residents. The Middlesex

County hospitals adhered to the same policy and rejected non-paying non-resident cases even though they were brought in by a Middlesex squad. This situation no longer prevails. Any hospital in the state will receive and treat and hospitalize an emergency case until arrangements for transfer or payment can be made between county welfare authorities.

It is not uncommon for squads to transport patients resident within their area from their homes or nearby hospitals to hospitals in New York City or Philadelphia. This service is also without charge to the patient.

To a considerable extent political boundaries have been ignored in setting the areal jurisdiction of the squads. The fact that there are 2 municipalities and 24 squads is completely coincidental, despite the fact that New Brunswick, uniquely, does not maintain a squad, but depends upon its fire department, which operates a publicly owned ambulance. Squads in Perth Amboy and in six boroughs limit their services to their political jurisdictions. The settlement of Arbor squad covers a part of Piscataway Township; Raritan Township has a single safety council which supports three squads, each responsible for covering one of the three administrative districts into which the township is divided.

In all other cases, settlements or boroughs share in a complicated cooperative system which provides complete coverage. The squad of South Amboy, for instance, serves the eastern half of rural Sayreville Township; the western half is covered by the settlement of Sayreville.

In the industrial township

Woodbridge optimum coverage is furnished by four squads from as many settlements; in fact, overcoverage with its attendant disadvantages of added costs and inefficiency may well materialize if the proposed organization of two additional units takes place. On the other hand, four of the smallest and least well financed squads do their best to provide service for the southern third of the county, which includes only 15 per cent of the population and a much less adequate road network. One of the southernmost townships, Cranbury, is not served by any of the units in Middlesex; it is more readily accessible to the squad from neighboring Hightstown in Mercer County.

In a number of instances an older squad has been primarily responsible for formation of a new one—for example, Raritan Squad Number 3, which took over an area formerly shared by the two older squads in the township. Middlesex, the older squad, has helped the South Plainfield unit in many ways. Another recently organized unit, the Iselin First Aid Squad, was started by volunteer firemen assisted by the Fords First Aid Squad, which donated an ambulance and sent one of its instructors to train the new members.

Usually the founders of the older squads have been volunteer firemen. These men came to realize the need for more adequate first aid equipment and better trained personnel in first aid work. Frequently, the catalyst which transformed thought into action was a local tragedy. The Arbor squad, first to be formed in the county in 1930, was organized after an accident in which eight lives were lost by drowning.

The Highland Park squad was almost forced into being two years ago when the mayor of New Brunswick told the mayor of Highland Park that the pressure of serving both communities was too much for his city's ambulance. Mayor Cole of Highland Park sought the aid of two well known citizens to organize a first aid squad. A public-spirited couple donated an ambulance and the squad was in service. A new building has been erected and is being equipped by donations of materials, money and labor.

Squad Organization

Excepting one township which has three squads under a common safety council, all are similarly organized, with line officers—captain, assistant captain and two lieutenants; administrative officers—president, vice president, secretary and treasurer; and three committees to screen new applicants, supervise fund raising and audit expenditures. An advantage of this system is that almost every member serves in some official capacity while, at the same time, all officers function as line personnel, so that the gap in understanding between those who manage and authorize the expenditure of funds and those who serve has no opportunity to creep in.

There is little problem in attracting recruits except in sparsely settled townships and the rate of personnel turnover is low, averaging less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent a year. One squad has doubled the number of its potential applicants by admitting women to membership and insured a continuing supply of trained, fresh young blood by maintaining a cadet corps of young men and women between the ages of 15 and 25.

All candidates are subject to meticulous pre-entry examination which emphasizes character and seriousness of interest as well as physical, mental and emotional fitness. All members hold standard and advanced Red Cross first aid cards and are given additional instruction since they may be called upon to give emergency treatment beyond the scope of what is normally considered first aid work.

Since 24-hour service must be provided most squads have all their personnel on call all the time. Calls are usually received at the local police headquarters or by the local telephone operator who either notifies the captain and a member assigned to phone duty or sounds an alarm device such as a siren, factory whistle or the fire alarm—in which case a special code is used to distinguish first aid alarms. Then the first two or, in the case of some squads, three members to reach headquarters drive the ambulance to the scene of the accident or pick up the patient in the case of transportation calls. If an accident, other members may proceed directly to the scene in their own automobiles. Where cadets are used, they must be accompanied by three regular members and are not permitted to go out on calls after 11 P.M.

Some squads assign members to particular duty days and hours according to a roster. All such arrangements differ, according to the needs and personnel of the units concerned. Work load, of course, varies considerably, with some squads making up to 90 per cent of their calls for highway accidents, others having a high proportion of industrial accidents

and some handling mostly transportation calls. The first would find its peak load on weekends, the second during the week and the third would have little variation in its frequency of calls.

Displacement Coverage

The squads cooperate by agreements to provide displacement coverage. As in fire department operations, when a squad is called into service the problem of providing standby protection arises. It is met by giving immediate notice to a neighboring unit. This system works well for ordinary operations but has broken down more than once in the face of major disasters because of the absence of effective coordinating authority and the very real independence, in both law and practice, of the squads.

In the Woodbridge disaster, for instance, the Spotswood First Aid Squad rushed off with all its equipment just as soon as it heard the news on the radio. Meanwhile nearby Jamesburg radioed a police liaison office in Monmouth County before acting, and was directed to send one vehicle but to keep the other on call. Shortly thereafter this stand-by vehicle had to go to Spotswood to pick up an emergency hemorrhage case and until it returned from the hospital, three boroughs, all of one township and part of another were left without protection. There was no way under the past system either to prevent such things from happening or to discipline responsible squads.

This was obviously an area into which the State Civil Defense agency could and should move. As a matter of fact, this is being done. On May 17, 1951, a "mobilization plan for

Raritan area" was agreed upon by the chairman of the second district of the New Jersey First Aid Council, the chairman of the Middlesex County Association of First Aid Squads and the director of the medical, health and welfare division of the Raritan area civil defense. Administrative control over first aid units in Middlesex County is now in the hands of the civil defense area control center in the case of any accident beyond the competence of the local squad, its first five cover-up squads and neighboring squads within a five-mile radius of the scene.

Therefore, although minor accidents, defined in terms of the number of victims, will continue to be handled under the old system of squad operational autonomy and interjurisdictional cooperation, any future disaster, atomic or otherwise, will be under the jurisdiction of an elaborate county-wide administrative control center. This center includes factors beyond the control of first aid squads, such as police and fire departments, medical personnel and mobile first aid stations, at the same time tying in with a statewide organization with even greater reserves of personnel, equipment and hospital facilities.

The legal status of all first aid squads is that of private corporations. Slightly more than half in the state have joined the New Jersey State First Aid Council, Inc., a cooperative nonprofit volunteer organization founded in 1929. Sixteen Middlesex County squads are members of District Number 2 of the state council; eight are members of the rival

Middlesex County Association of First Aid Squads, Inc.

The essentially public character of the squads has found legal recognition in legislation and other concessions obtained through the state council, including the municipality contribution act of 1932 and its revision of 1951,¹ exemption from fee for ambulance license plates and from New York Port Authority tolls on ambulance trips to New York.

State Organization

The executive committee of the state organization and the district councils meet monthly and a semi-annual state convention is held as a means of coordinating activities and exchanging ideas. There is a monthly publication, *The Gold Cross*, but it is unfortunately devoted mostly to personal news and equipment advertisements and does not approach the professional standards which would make it effective for the interchange of technical information. Neither the state council nor the county association has any effective control over member squads.

The principle of the municipality contribution legislation might well be extended in two ways. If the state legislature were to appropriate an annual sum of \$50,000 to the State First Aid Council and the county

¹Raising from \$1,000 to \$3,000 the amount that any municipality or county may legally contribute to any squad serving in its area. Last year Middlesex County contributed nothing, thirteen units received the maximum contribution from the municipalities in which they were located (but not from the others they served), three received less than \$200 and the rest from \$500 to \$800.

appropriation of \$3,000 were made mandatory, a number of advantages would follow.

In the first place, the state council could then afford to employ a full-time, paid, professionally qualified director to expand existing services, for example, by formulating standards for purchasing and other administrative procedures and in such critical areas as communications.

Second, the state council and the counties could share in supplementing the inadequate financing of the squads serving areas of greatest need through a system of equalization grants-in-aid. One squad covering what is essentially a rural area, for instance, answered 375 calls last year; 75 of these involved local residents, the rest were motor vehicle accidents on state and federal highways. Such a plan would insure sufficient local squad autonomy to keep the interest of the volunteer citizens without whose whole-hearted cooperation no system such as this could exist. At the same time, a few thousand dollars more distributed among the squads in rural areas, to overcome the burdens of inadequate staff, financing and equipment, would make possible the attainment of basic standards.

The potential as well as the actual significance of the work of these citizen first aid squads to their communities and to the public at large is inestimable. For the value received, the cost is small. Other states, and particularly their smaller municipalities, might well give consideration to the experience and example of New Jersey.

A COUNCILMAN'S PIPE DREAM

(Continued from page 526)

There was a fire in the old warehouse down on Eighteenth Street. Six engine companies and two aerials were working on it. The mayor was calling a nearby city for another aerial ladder and two heavyweight pumpers. All the reserve firemen and all the off-duty policemen had been called. It was touch and go to save the adjacent block of old fire-trap buildings.

John's pipe dream had vanished into the hard realities of a bad fire on a cold and snarling night. He went fumbling around to find his hat and coat. He slithered the city reports and resolutions to the floor. He called upstairs to his wife "Bad fire; be back in an hour." Outside it was raw and blustery. The snow had stopped falling. His car motor was still warm. When he pressed the starter, the engine roared into action. John puffed on his pipe and shifted the car into reverse. Soon he was headed downtown again. In the sky he could see a dull red glow.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Had the councilman's dream not been rudely interrupted by the telephone, he might have been able to find out also how the city, with its modern council-manager charter, had financed the new city hall and civic center as well as other improvements. It might have been general obligation bonds, paid out of economies resulting from the efficient manner in which the city was run. Or, if the system had been in effect long enough, it might even have been done on a pay-as-you-go basis.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

New Jersey Judge Grants Rights to Radio

Upholds Broadcast of Public Hearing Before City Council

IN PERHAPS the first court decision ever to deal with the rights of radio stations to broadcast public meetings or hearings, officials of the city of Asbury Park, New Jersey, have been ordered by Superior Court Judge C. Thomas Schettino to permit radio broadcasting of a public hearing before the city council. The hearing had to do with a proposed ordinance authorizing a referendum on a luxury tax. The *Asbury Park Press* sought permission to broadcast the hearing over its radio station WJLK but City Manager Armstrong, after a poll of the city council by telephone, denied such permission.

Judge Schettino ruled on September 24, two days before the hearing, in favor of the radio station and held that denial of the broadcast would be a violation of constitutional rights of the press, which he considered to include radio stations.

The city contended that the broadcasting would interfere with orderly conduct of the hearing; that it would be held in a room large enough to seat five hundred people and that there would be ample newspaper coverage.

The judge recognized the right of public officials to maintain decorum and control at meetings but said: "It is one thing to say a mayor and council can control the mechanics of a meeting and something else to say that they have a right as public officials to exclude the dissemination and distribution of news of public interest in a mechanical manner which is new."

Legislative Meetings Televised, Tape Recorded, Broadcast

Sessions of the Oklahoma legislature this year have been televised in part by the Oklahoma City radio station WKY-TV, according to the Council of State Governments. The television broadcasts have been on Tuesday and Thursday of each session week, for one hour each, starting at 2 P.M. The broadcast may be of either house depending on legislative calendars.

A radio reporter contributes comment and explanation with the broadcast, without interfering with the legislators' activities.

Sessions of the West Virginia House of Delegates are now recorded by means of a public address system and tape recorder. Expense for court stenographers is thereby eliminated. If desired, extemporaneous remarks by any legislator can now be obtained by simply playing back the recording of a day's session and typing up a copy.

Tapes can be stored in a small space and are housed permanently in the vault of the speaker of the House of Delegates. No material may be released unless first requested by the delegate who spoke and then approved by the House Committee on Rules.

Meetings of the Burbank, California, city council, held on Tuesday afternoons, were broadcast for 30 minutes at 7:30 the same evening for a six months' period. The meetings, ranging from one and a half to three hours in length, were tape-recorded in full; the report on the tape was then edited for the broadcast. Controversial material was included if both sides had been presented and discussed. The council chamber is equipped with microphones for councilmen, the city manager and others, and amplifiers

are installed in ceiling ventilator ports.

In San Diego, California, a half-hour television program was recently presented with the city manager and city council participating and answering questions telephoned into the studio.

These innovations are supplementary to such other modern devices as amplifiers, public address systems and electric recording of votes and roll calls, examples of which have been noted heretofore.

A substantial number of cities have used radio for broadcasting prepared programs, but its use in connection with council sessions or other official meetings is still rare.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

San Antonio, Texas, (1950 population 406,811) after long and strenuous efforts and despite determined political opposition, has joined the ranks of council-manager cities. On October 2 its voters adopted a home rule council-manager charter, 19,056 to 10,251. San Antonio, incorporated 221 years ago, has been under the commission plan of government for the last 36 years. Political machine domination was shaken in the spring of 1949 by the election of A. C. (Jack) White, an independent and a manager plan advocate, as mayor. The REVIEW has recounted from time to time the various efforts, culminating in the October 2 election, to attain a modern, efficient form of government and break the hold of the machine. San Antonio will be the fourth largest American city with the manager plan, according to 1950 population figures.

In the new San Antonio council each candidate runs at large for a particular place—one to nine; if no majority results for a place, a runoff election is held. The first council will

hold office from January 1, 1952, to April 30, 1953; thereafter there will be two-year terms. The first election will be held November 13, 1951, succeeding elections to be on the first Tuesday of April in odd years.

The cities of **Anaheim** (14,556), **Inglewood** (46,185), **Martinez** (8,268), **Oceanside** (12,881) and **San Gabriel** (20,343), **California**, have been placed on their official list of council-manager cities by the International City Managers' Association. These communities have been operating under an "administrative officer" setup but in actual practice the city council appoints administrative personnel only upon recommendation of the administrative officer. **Yuba City, California**, (7,861) which adopted the administrative officer plan early this year, has also been placed on the official manager list.

Mt. Vernon, Illinois, (15,563) on October 2 became the first city to take advantage of the new Illinois law raising the population limit for council-manager cities from 5,000 to 500,000. It voted for the manager plan 2,390 to 413. The plan is expected to go into effect in May 1953, at the expiration of the present mayor's term. Until then the present board of five aldermen, elected by wards, will continue. The new council will be elected at large in April 1953.

The council-manager plan has been adopted by **Garland, Texas**, (10,571).

Vero Beach, Florida, (4,746) voted 922 to 42 on September 18 in favor of a council-manager charter, to take effect October 18. The present city council serves until the annual city election on December 4, 1951. It may defer the final choice of a manager until then. The election was participated in by 45 per cent of the qualified electors.

Smyrna, Delaware, (2,346) has adopted the council-manager plan.

By a vote of 205 to 202 on October 9, **Crescent, Oklahoma**, (1,341) adopted the provisions of the state's statutory council-manager law. The new government went into effect October 19.

For the second time in two years **Gloucester, Massachusetts**, will hold a referendum on adopting the council-manager plan. The city council has authorized a vote on December 4, at the biennial municipal election, as the result of a petition of 2,180 names filed by the Home Owners League. In December 1949 Gloucester voters approved Plan E, then including proportional representation as well as the manager plan; but the state legislature having ruled P. R. out for new charters, the election was declared invalid. The new petition was for Plan E with plurality voting for council and school board instead of P. R.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island**, a charter commission appointed in April is taking steps toward the formation of a new commission in conformity with the home rule constitutional amendment adopted by the state's voters in June. A petition has been circulated to cause the town council to nominate nine members for such a commission.

Petitions for a special election on electing a charter commission have been circulated in **Pawtucket, Rhode Island**. The campaign is being conducted by the Citizens' League and the League of Women Voters, acting under Rhode Island's new home rule amendment to the constitution.

Dunn, North Carolina, voted on April 14, after much public discussion, to retain the manager plan. The vote was 575 to 327, as compared to the vote of 255 to 44 by which the plan was adopted in 1949.

Albemarle, North Carolina, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, by a vote of 1,733 to 1,132, at the May municipal election.

Marysville, Michigan, which has had the manager plan since 1920, elected a charter commission, by a two-to-one vote on October 1, to draft a new and modern council-manager charter.

Attorney General Burnquist of **Minnesota** has ruled, in response to an inquiry by the president of the **New Ulm** charter commission, that the city council cannot, except by charter amendment, delegate any administrative powers to a newly created officer (who might be called a city manager) that are already delegated or assigned by the charter to an existing office or department.

A citizens' committee in **Calumet City, Illinois**, southeastern suburb of Chicago, has undertaken a campaign to bring the council-manager plan before the voters next year. A series of public meetings has been planned.

The state of **Iowa** has completely recodified its laws for council-manager and other types of municipal government and has exempted the manager and his administrative assistants from the civil service system.

The **North Dakota** legislature has curtailed the authority of city managers, as set forth in the state's optional laws, by giving city councils power to rearrange the duties of appointive positions and by requiring the manager to consult the council before appointing or removing department heads.

At the suggestion of the mayor, the city council of **El Campo, Texas**, has voted to employ a city engineer, "trained in municipal management."

The charter commission of **San Marcos, Texas**, has produced a tentative draft of a council-manager charter for consideration at public hearings.

In **Baytown, Texas**, which adopted the manager plan in 1948, all seven of a group of proposed charter amendments that would have increased the city council's participation in adminis-

trative details were defeated on September 22 by majorities of approximately four to one. The total vote was 824 out of some 7,000 qualified voters. One amendment would have given the council full power to hire or discharge any employee "when such action would benefit the city"; another would have had the council approve all new members of the police department.

Riverside, California, has elected a board of freeholders to draft a new charter. It is reported that a majority are favorable to the council-manager plan.

Portland, Maine, Government Goes to the People

A public meeting attended by 500 citizens on October 8 set a record for the "neighborhood town meetings" inaugurated two years ago by the city government of Portland, Maine, under a policy of "taking city hall to the people." This meeting, the sixth of a series, was held on Munjoy Hill, one of the old established areas of the city; 400 seats in the Jack Junior High School auditorium were filled, there were a hundred standees and another hundred unable to get in.

City officials present included City Manager Lyman S. Moore, who has held that office for the last five of the 27 years Portland has had the manager plan, Acting City Council Chairman Robert L. Getchell, School Superintendent H. C. Lyseth, Police Chief C. F. Hofacker and Park Director W. J. Dougherty. They were assailed with many questions and criticisms and explained what the city administration was doing and what more it could or could not do, as to schools, streets, recreation facilities, parking and other topics put forward by the audience.

Pay-boost Referenda Assailed in New York

The New York State Conference of Mayors, in its *Municipal Bulletin*, warns against recent efforts of groups of city employees to by-pass local officials and place questions of increased pay before the voters in local referenda.

The employees of the city of Yonkers presented to the city council a petition of 11,000 names, asking for a referendum on a proposal for a \$500 annual salary increase for each employee. Thereafter the council approved the referendum, to be held at the November 6 election.

The Mayors' Conference urges that the fixing of salaries and the determination of the value of individual services is a function for city administrators and that it is unfair to the voters to shift an administrative function to them; that they do not have the necessary information; and that their elected officials should decide questions of municipal management, subject to the voters' approval of their acts when officials run for election.

Yonkers' City Manager Donald C. Wagner had reported to the council his opposition to the referendum, adding that if the salary increase is approved it will practically necessitate imposition of a city sales tax, in view of other rising costs and the resultant level of property taxes.

A recent amendment to New York State's municipal home rule law provides that with a petition involving added expenditures there must be submitted a plan to raise the necessary revenue. The Yonkers employees merely left the revenue question up to the city council, and the city's attorney ruled that this was sufficient. In Kingston, New York, however, where the police and firemen petitioned the city council for increase in

pay and said that the council should raise the amount any way it legally could, the city's attorney ruled that this did not comply with the statute.

Survey Covers 86,000 New York City Jobs

A voluminous report on a "career and salary" survey inaugurated in New York City in August 1950 was submitted on October 3 to Lazarus Joseph, city comptroller and chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey. The report, made by Griffenhagen and Associates, includes 5,000 pages listing names and proposed descriptive titles for some 86,000 individual positions covered by the survey and about 1,000 pages of supporting text and data.

This survey did not cover teachers, policemen, firemen, board of transportation employees or skilled labor paid on the basis of prevailing rates of pay in private industry. The 86,000 jobs covered are in 59 other city departments and agencies and eleven cultural institutions partly or fully supported by the city. The survey found 1,327 different classes of work being performed by these employees and a modern definition was prepared for each.

Public hearings on the report will be held, followed by recommendations to the mayor.

The Mayor's Committee is conducting various other surveys and researches concerning the city's functions and their administration, under the general supervision of Dr. Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, who is executive director for the committee.

San Jose Has Management Training Program

San Jose, California, this year inaugurated a series of management

training conferences, the first phase of which required each department head to present, at weekly meetings, a discussion of the operations of his department and its inter-relationship with other departments. A written report was prepared to accompany each presentation.

In the second training phase, each department head reported on a specialized departmental activity. During the coming year the third phase will be devoted to studying principles of municipal management and a program is being prepared for training supervisors in human relations and the principles of supervision.

AMA to Hold Annual Convention in Washington

The American Municipal Association has announced that the 1951 American Municipal Congress, its annual convention, will be held in Washington, D. C., on December 10, 11 and 12, with headquarters at the Hotel Statler. Topics will include municipal progress in 1951, economic problems of cities, highway matters, payments in lieu of taxes and lessons from 1951 midwest floods.

Alaskan Cities Hold First Annual Convention

The annual convention of the League of Alaskan Cities, its first general meeting since it was organized at a mayors' conference in August 1950, was held in Kodiak, October 28-30. Shortly before, the league's executive committee appointed Arthur H. Rosien as executive secretary, to handle the work at the league's headquarters at Anchorage, the mayor of which, Z. J. Loussac, is president of the league. Alaska is divided into four administrative districts, without counties, and cities deal directly with the territorial government.

(Continued on page 542)

Contra Costa Taxpayers Study County Government

Aid in Organizing Official Intergovernmental Conference

THE Taxpayers Association of Contra Costa County, California, is engaged in a series of studies to advise its membership on the nature and the problems of county government and suggest possible solutions. The first of the four mimeographed bulletins issued thus far is concerned with the feasibility of adopting a home rule charter, the second describes the possibilities of a genuine budget procedure to replace the current compilation of requests, and the third explains the functions of the recently created "county administrator." This study warns: "One should not be misinformed that centralized management of the form established in Contra Costa County is real county management. Such an organization can only be established in California counties by the enactment of a county charter setting forth his powers clearly and unmistakably, and lodging administrative responsibility and authority in one individual." The fourth bulletin deals with the county board of supervisors as it might be set up under a new charter.

The final study of the association will discuss whether or not a county home rule charter should be adopted and what type of government it should provide. At present the county is governed under general state law.

The municipalities, civic groups and county officials of Contra Costa County met recently at the invitation of the Taxpayers Association and

formed the Contra Costa Intergovernmental Conference. It will be a non-policy-making group of public officials which will confine its studies and discussions to matters primarily of an administrative nature. It will attempt to coordinate to some extent the activities of the 75 local taxing jurisdictions in the area, which is one of the fastest growing in the country. A committee has been appointed to develop rules of procedure and to define the scope of activity of the new organization.

Appointive Assessor, Initiative Endorsed for King County

The Municipal League of Seattle has recommended that the King County charter now being drafted provide that 10 per cent of the voters may initiate county legislation by petition and that referenda on proposed county legislation may be held by action of the county commissioners or of 15 per cent of the voters upon petition. The league also announced that after a survey of other metropolitan areas it was definitely in favor of appointment of the county assessor to replace the elective method.

The league recently held a meeting devoted to consideration of provisions to be included in the new county charter. Questions discussed included: Would the county administrator become a "little Hitler" or would he serve like an efficient general manager of a private corporation? Would non-partisan elections be a blow to the two-party system or would we get better officials without voting on their party labels? Would county civil service be a dugout for drones or would it provide qualified employees after merit examination? Would de-

mocracy be better served through many elected officials or by electing only a few with centralized responsibility?

The League's Town Criers Committee is filling numerous calls for speakers on the proposed county charter.

Arlington County Seeks Changes in Manager Charter

Citizens of Arlington County, Virginia, which operates under a special manager plan charter granted by the legislature in 1930, are seeking support for an amended manager act. The Arlington Civic Federation has voted to ask the county's delegation to the legislature for six charter changes to include:

(1) Giving the county manager power to appoint department heads provided he himself is subject to removal by the county board; (2) creation of an enlarged department of finance combining several departments; (3) having the county board of supervisors elected every two years instead of one, with membership enlarged from five to seven; (4) creation of an office of county attorney separate from commonwealth's attorney; and (5) giving the county board of supervisors power of investigation.

Under the present charter, the manager is appointed by the board of supervisors for a term of one year only. He cannot be removed during that time but may be given 60 days notice if his services are not desired for the ensuing year.

Michigan Officials Discuss County Government

In a recent meeting of the Michigan Municipal League, county government was both severely attacked

and warmly defended. Two city managers said county government in Michigan is "antiquated and archaic and a hodge-podge of agencies." What was needed, said one speaker, was a directing head.

The president of the State Association of County Supervisors urged caution and referred to recent efforts to improve county government as attempts to destroy it. He stated that he doubted whether any one man was "smart enough to take over the diversified functions of county government."

Speaking editorially, the *Saginaw News* commented that, "The desire to improve, streamline and bring these methods up to date is not any attempt to 'destroy' county government. It is a desire to strengthen and improve it." The *News* pointed out that, "There are men in jobs as city managers who do a pretty good job of coordinating and directing all the functions of city government, and these are just as complex and diversified as the functions of county government, if not more so."

County Publishes Informational Pamphlet

Dallas County, Texas, has issued a 44-page informational booklet, *Your County Government*, which in six brief chapters describes the operations of the county's activities. They discuss in turn general government, law enforcement offices, finances, judiciary, educational offices, and welfare, hospitals and relief. Listed for each is the current budget and number of employees. The booklet contains pictures of the county buildings, but its outstanding feature is the many humorous drawings that are scattered throughout the report.

Proportional Representation . . .

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

'They're Fighting Plan E Over in Quincy, Too'

Petitions Found Faulty Worcester Paper Comments

FOES of Plan E never sleep. They are busy in Worcester, as we noted on this page the other day. They are busy also in Quincy, which voted more than two to one for Plan E in 1947 and is now, with Worcester, completing its second year under the new charter.

Old political hands in Quincy whipped up a petition to put on this year's ballot a proposition to repeal Plan E and restore Plan A. Now Plan A has its points. Certainly it is a real gain for Boston. But Plan A does not provide for a city manager—and that's a key point. By comparison with Plan E, therefore, Plan A offers lush pasture for political hacks, party nags and heelers whose life work is grubbing for soft jobs on the public payroll.

In Quincy's case, too, any charter change now would wipe out proportional representation, which so many professional politicians fear and despise because it gives their political machines a hard time. The legislature in 1949 took P.R. from the optional charters, and it was only by a stiff fight that Worcester, Quincy and the other four cities which already had P.R. were able to win exemption from the ban.

Those aiming to overthrow Plan E in Quincy missed fire this year. The local board of appeals threw out 331 signatures on their petition, and the Superior Court upheld the action. Now both sides agree there is no time

to take the case to the Supreme Court in time, so there will be no referendum in November on Plan E. That gives Plan E another two years to prove itself with Quincy citizens.

It has already progressed far, with an able city manager. But the very points of improvement—expert surveys, more trained personnel, a smaller council, a professional administrator—are the points of the politicians' attack. They know very well that the longer Plan E stays in, the more remote grows their chance of laying hands on city hall again.

Quincy's experience is another reminder to Worcester and all other Plan E cities that you often have to fight as hard to keep the new charter and its blessings as you did to win them in the first place.

Editorial, Worcester (Massachusetts) *Evening Gazette*, September 29, 1951

Saugus Votes Out P. R. for Town Selectmen

On October 8 Saugus, Massachusetts, voted to abandon the Hare system of P. R. for election of its board of selectmen and school committee, 1,299 to 548. Only 23.4 per cent of the registered voters took part in the election. The plan was supported by a small group of unorganized citizens led by Mr. and Mrs. Hollis Hogle and Mrs. Victor Wass, and by the local weekly *Saugus Advertiser*. Full-page ads for and against the system appeared in the pre-election edition of the newspaper.

Saugus adopted the town manager plan in 1947 and has held two elections under its P. R. provisions. The referendum was required by special act of the state legislature.

P. R. League Will Meet in Cincinnati

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, on Tuesday, November 27, at 9:20 A.M. It will be one of several concurrent sessions of the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, meeting November 26, 27 and 28. Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, president of the P.R. League, will preside. The pupils of the Garfield School of that city will present a demonstration election.

Among the speakers will be Mrs. Dorothy Nichols Dolbey, a candidate for the Cincinnati city council, and George Howatt, of Lehigh University.

Voters Favor Electoral College Change

Despite its recent decisive defeat in Congress,¹ the Lodge-Gossett proposal for proportional allocation of the electoral vote of each state in presidential elections continues to receive favor in public opinion. The American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) reports that its survey on the question reveals 57 per cent of those questioned in favor of the proposal, 21 per cent opposed and 22 per cent with-

out opinion. Among those who, by their answers to another question, showed that they knew what the Electoral College was, the opinion in favor was still higher—67 per cent, while 25 per cent were opposed and 8 per cent were without opinion.

Greece Modifies Its Use of P. R.

The Greek national election on September 9 was held under the list system of P. R. This year the system was modified somewhat to favor the larger parties. The apportionment of seats which takes place within the districts is done, as in the past, on a proportional basis. Thereafter, to participate in the distribution of the remaining seats over the whole country, it is necessary that a party have 17 per cent of the total vote. Three parties qualified for such proportional treatment, one of them an entirely new group, the Greek Rally, led by Field Marshal Alexander Papagos, which topped the poll. The once dominant Populist party dropped to fifth place and received insignificant representation.

No party received a majority either of votes or of parliamentary seats. The results, as reported by the *New York Times* of October 25, were as follows:

GREEK PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1951

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats
Greek Rally	623,297	36.6	114	44
Center Union (E.P.E.K.)	399,529	23.4	74	25.8
Liberal	324,482	19.1	57	22.4
United Democratic	178,325	10.5	10	3.6
Populist	113,580	6.7	2	0.8
Democratic Socialist	37,033	2.2	—	—
Farmers & Workers	23,186	1.4	1	0.4
	1,707,081		258	

¹See the REVIEW, September 1950, page 411.

San Marino Uses List System for Grand Council

The tiny republic of San Marino, located in the mountains near the Adriatic coast of northern Italy, elected its Grand Council again on September 17 by the list system of proportional representation. It retained by a narrow margin its double distinction as the seat of the only Communist-dominated government outside the iron curtain and the only place where an openly Communist-dominated coalition has won a parliamentary majority in a western-type free election. The Communists never had a majority by themselves and have not abolished democratic elections and institutions as they have wherever they had a chance. Their strength in San Marino, of course, merely parallels their strength in many nearby communities in northern Italy.

Although the Communist and Left-wing Socialist bloc lost four of its former 35 seats, it retained a bare majority of the 60 seats by virtue of a similar majority of the popular vote (the two go together under P.R.). The Christian Democratic party obtained the highest popular vote and the greatest number of seats of any single party, but less than the Communists and their allies together. The results of the balloting, in which 4,467 of the republic's 12,000 inhabitants took part, were reported by the *New York Herald Tribune* as follows:

Party	Votes	Seats
Christian Democratic	1,922	27
Communist	1,306	18
Left-wing Socialist	991	13
Industrial Patriotic	248	2

CITY, STATE, NATION

(Continued from page 537)

Municipal Clerks' Institute

The National Institute of Municipal Clerks, organized four years ago, has

established an office, effective October 1, at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago. This is also the home office of the American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association and fourteen other nationwide organizations in the field of local and state government. The institute is reported to have a membership of about 600, from 46 states, headed by Arthur J. Shinnors, town clerk of Brookline, Massachusetts, as president.

Nevada Authorizes Organization of Cities

Under a law recently signed by Governor Russell, municipalities in Nevada are authorized to form and participate in municipal organizations and to pay dues and travel costs. The law was sponsored by the Nevada Municipal Association, which has heretofore functioned and been financed on a personal, voluntary basis.

Mediation for Public Employee Disputes in North Dakota

A North Dakota law adopted this year provides that when a labor dispute involving the state, a county or a city cannot be settled directly, either the employer or employee may ask the appropriate executive officer—governor, chairman of the county board, mayor or city manager—to appoint two members to a mediation board, one representing the unit of government and one the employees. These board members then select a third person who serves as chairman.

This board is empowered to subpoena witnesses, compel attendance, take testimony and receive evidence. Within 30 days after the hearing the board must make recommendations on the issues in dispute to the executive officer of the unit of government and to the parties to the dispute.

City Repays Old Ransom Loan of \$200,000

Frederick, Md., Interest on Civil War Debt Runs \$600,000

FREDERICK, Maryland, famed as the home of Barbara Fritchie, made the headlines in September for a lesser known but somewhat more costly Civil War episode. The occasion was the repayment of the final \$20,000 on a loan of \$200,000 made by five of the town's banks to pay a ransom demanded on July 4, 1864, by Confederate General Jubal Early. Desperate for supplies, the general exacted the bounty on pain of sacking the city. According to press reports, at least four attempts have been made in the past, and another is authorized, to persuade Congress to reimburse the town for the expense of the ransom, which is estimated to have cost \$600,000 in interest.

The town's plight presents a novel turn to a not altogether rare set of circumstances, the long-term loan and the high local cost of participation in a war emergency. Scarcely a community of consequence lacks somewhere in its history a long-term bond issue or other loan which was finally paid off long after the original occasion for the borrowing was all but forgotten, and plenty of local units are still paying for "dead horses" of an earlier era. Glaring examples are the still outstanding 100-year bonds of New York City.

Frederick taxpayers labored long under their burden. Only recently, however, some of the town's sister communities have assumed similar burdens—the cost of local participation in war emergency activities. Fred-

erick's participation was involuntary—it paid about one-tenth of the then valuation of its community to save it from the torch. But American cities have vied with one another to become the sites of large federal defense installations or huge new defense plants, only to discover when they secured them that the high cost of additional streets, sewers, water mains, schools, etc., made the acquisition a doubtful bargain.

State-local Borrowing Continues Heavy

Despite gathering difficulties in securing sufficient key materials for major construction jobs, state and local borrowing continues this year at a rapid pace, and still heavier borrowing activity is indicated by a growing volume of bond approvals by state and local voters. Since new bond sales have been subject to screening by regional banking committees under the voluntary credit restraining program, designed to keep non-essential and inflationary loans off the market, the continued high level of borrowing is especially significant.

For the nine months ended September 30, 1951, state and local bond sales aggregated \$2,325,140,000, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer*, the financial journal specializing in state and municipal bonds. This was sharply below the \$2,899,039,000 set for the first nine months of 1950, but compared with \$2,243,377,000 for the 1949 period and was only slightly behind the first nine months of 1948, the second-ranking period, when the total was \$2,360,878,000. Sales in September 1951 alone were \$242,113,863, below both 1950 and 1949, but there was a sharp upswing indicated

for October and a three-billion-dollar year was again assured.

Even more significant is the fact that bonds approved by the voters for the nine months this year totaled \$793,280,000. This figure compares with \$679,158,000 in the 1950 period and \$719,479,000 for the first nine months of 1949. Total approvals for 1951 are not likely to reach the aggregates of the three preceding years, however, since November elections heretofore have included large state soldiers' bonus bond authorizations, now mainly out of the way.

Voter authorizations do not, however, include the entire potential of new borrowing, since many cities and other local units do not need to secure voter approval. Further, a large volume of borrowing by local housing authorities—expected to run above \$100,000,000 every two or three months—is not included. There is also the backlog of unused authorizations of earlier years, since few bond authorizations are issued immediately after the election and many large authorizations are sold in installments.

The cost of state-local borrowing continues favorable to the borrower, although it is much above the very low levels of the war and early post-war years. In the first week of October 1951, the twenty-bond index of *The Daily Bond Buyer*, representing the average yield on the twenty-year obligations of twenty representative state and local units, stood at 2.05 per cent compared with 1.83 per cent at the corresponding 1950 date and 2.12 per cent for October 1949.

The index, it may be recalled, hit a high point of 5.69 per cent in May 1933, when the municipal horizon was clouded by serious fiscal difficulties. It declined more or less gradually during the recovery phase of the economic cycle and then, under the im-

petus of high personal income tax rates and the virtual cessation of new borrowing, plunged during the war years and reached an all-time low of 1.29 per cent in May 1946. The growing volume of new issues in the post-war period carried the index above 2 per cent by the end of 1947 and in 1948 it ranged in the vicinity of 2.3 to 2.4 per cent, trending down thereafter to about 2.1 per cent by the end of 1949 and 1.75 per cent by the end of 1950.

In March 1951 the Federal Reserve System, at the insistence of the U. S. Treasury, withdrew the "pegs" or support prices for U. S. obligations and money rates rose markedly, with the twenty-bond municipal index up to 2.2 per cent by early July. Since then it has been close to 2 per cent, representing a still moderate borrowing cost for the majority of local units.

State Tax Collections on Liquor Fall

State tax collections on alcoholic beverages have declined once again after their rise in late 1950 and the early part of 1951. Preliminary information for the second quarter of 1951, gathered by the Federation of Tax Administrators from a sampling of thirteen states, indicate the degree of decline from their peak in the scare buying period following the Korean outbreak and the entry of the Chinese in the fighting.

Collection of taxes on distilled spirits—which accounts for about 60 per cent of the total state alcoholic beverage tax collection—were off almost one-third in the second quarter of this year from the accelerated pace of the 1950 July-September quarter. More significantly, the 1951 second quarter collections were down 7.9 per cent from the same period last year while state take from wine dropped 20.3 per cent off the 1950 pace.

"The extent of the decline in liquor tax yields had not been generally anticipated," the federation pointed out. "Action taken by the liquor industry in late 1950 was based on the contemplation of heightened demand and scarcity of supply. It was expected that, as the defense effort went into full swing, rising national income would step up the tempo of alcoholic beverage consumption while defense requirements would curb liquor production."

"However," the association pointed out, "by mid-1951 it became apparent that the liquor situation of World War II was not being repeated. Production of distilled spirits since the Korean outbreaks has been at its all-time peak, almost double the rate of the preceding year. In contrast, consumption except for several months subsequent to the Korean outbreak and the Chinese entry has run only slightly ahead of the preceding year's rate and in the second quarter of 1951 appeared to be falling behind its last year's mark."

Of the states reporting collections from taxes on distilled spirits, Nebraska's second quarter take of \$181,000 was 43.1 per cent under that of the same period last year. Arkansas' collections of \$404,000 were 36.1 per cent down from last year. In both states, the sharp declines in second quarter 1951 followed even sharper increases in the first quarter of the year. The Nebraska first quarter 1951 collections were 71 per cent higher than those of the same period in 1950, while Arkansas' were 58.2 per cent above the preceding year.

Texas' second quarter collections of \$1,211,000 were 26.9 per cent lower than last year, while Indiana was 25.7 per cent under its second quarter 1950 collection with its take of \$1,044,000.

Percentage drops in liquor tax take by other states included: Delaware, 23.2; Colorado, 16.7; Massachusetts, 11.6; Kentucky, 10.4; Florida, 4.6; New York, 3.8, and California, 0.5.

City Collects for All-night Parking

In the first fifteen months of operation of a scheme to rent curb space to motorists unable to locate a garage in which to park their automobiles overnight, the city of Milwaukee has netted more than \$330,000. This revenue is to be used for purchase and development of off-street parking lots.

If it is determined that there is no readily available parking lot or garage within two blocks of a motorist's residence, he is granted a permit to park on the street at night. These permits are issued monthly for a fee of \$4. Every issue is of a different color and motorists must display them prominently on their automobiles.

House Committee to Study Overlapping Taxes

On September 27 the House of Representatives approved House Resolution 414, authorizing its Ways and Means Committee to investigate and study duplication and overlapping of taxes on the federal, state and local levels. The resolution calls for a report on the committee's recommendations to be made prior to the close of the present Congress—January 1953.

Commenting on the action, the U. S. Conference of Mayors says: "It is to be hoped that something constructive may come out of this present action. For fifteen years the conference has been endeavoring to secure congressional action on this problem and the committee's study will be closely followed."

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Civic Leaders Meet in Britain

Local Officials Hear Work of Citizen Groups Discussed

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below has been prepared by MISS PHYLLIS DAVIES, English feature writer, formerly on the staff of the London *Daily Mail*.

WHEN every town and village works to raise its standards of life the total answer is a well ordered country. For good government does not stem from a central, national government alone; much depends upon the men and women who serve on the local councils and government groups of the big cities and the small villages.

In Britain 800 of these civic leaders have just finished their annual conference, where the ideas of the man from the small market town were listened to with as much respect as were the opinions of the lord mayor of a great city.

There were 305 cities and boroughs of England, Wales and Northern Ireland represented in this gathering convened by the Association of Municipal Corporations (Scotland has its separate organization and conferences). Mayors, town clerks, chairmen of committees (on such subjects as housing, education, health) met to learn from each other by pooling knowledge and experience.

The pattern of the conference was formed by three papers read by national leaders in their field. Each subject had direct application to the life of Britain's communities and led to lively discussion by the delegates afterwards.

The first paper was a detailed reminder that in Britain, work for the people largely means work by the people, consisting as it does of much voluntary effort. This discussion of cooperation of voluntary organizations with statutory bodies was given by the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, chairman of the Women's Voluntary Services. This is a nation-wide organization of tens of thousands of women in all walks of life which began as a World War II service. The keynote of Lady Reading's address was that members of the Women's Voluntary Services regard themselves as the hand-maidens of local government and are organized on a local government basis. The scope of their work is limitless.

Members, who are mostly busy housewives or women in jobs, do all manner of services for the communities in which they live: they visit old people, run aged people's clubs and home help schemes, assist in hospitals, work for the forces and in child welfare, and even collect seeds and plants from owners of large gardens for people living near bombed sites who wish to improve their surroundings.

In her great program for defense Britain is again reviving her civil defense services which did Herculean work in the war. On this, a paper was read by A. S. Hutchinson, deputy under secretary of state, Home Office. There was scarcely a delegate present who had not some experience of the necessity of communities, however small, being trained to work together when war strikes. For villages and small towns, which themselves did not bear the brunt of heavy air attacks, all contributed, in their well organized services of rescue, fire fight-

ing, first aid, emergency meals and shelters for bombed out families, to the aid and comfort of the target areas.

All the lessons learned during the war days, and the newest plans for integration of local authority and government training, organization and action in the event of atomic attack, were dealt with. The delegates heard Mr. Hutchinson outline the functions of local government authorities, both under existing statutes and those which in emergency might be imposed.

Another paper was on freedom in education. It showed how hard won have been the freedoms to educate a nation's children as their parents would desire. Freedom of religious teaching, lack of doctrinaire politics, school health and welfare organizations have all, in the modern educational system of Britain, grown up through a variety of influences. On this subject, W. O. Lester Smith, professor of sociology of education, University of London, undoubtedly struck a responsive chord in the heart of every delegate. For basically it was these very things for which democracy has fought aggression.

When the delegates had listened to these papers and had expressed their views from the platform, they split up into little groups to talk together further. Said the Lord Mayor of the seaport city (population 1,107,000) to the clerk of the market town (population 1,720), "I'd like to hear some more of your views. Let's have a quiet drink and a smoke together." Thus, democracy works.

New Boston Committee Wins Election Victory

Organized eighteen months ago¹ to aid in securing good government for Boston, the New Boston Commit-

tee, has won its first victory at the polls. At the primary contest of September 26, for the nomination of eighteen candidates for city council and ten for school committee, its slates of candidates were highest on the lists. "Its success," says the *New York Times*, "and former Mayor James M. Curley's decline in popularity, were interpreted by many as signs of an upset in Boston politics."

The city council of nine chosen at the November election will inaugurate Boston's new Plan A government, adopted at the polls in November 1948. It provides for the strong mayor plan with many improvements in administrative procedure.

R. I. Group Drafts Charter Commission Ordinances

By unanimous vote at an October meeting the Rhode Island Home Rule Association has approved two model ordinances which would provide for the nomination and election of local charter revision commissions under the state's new home rule amendment.¹ One would apply in cities, the other in towns.

The association plans to mail the models to city and town councils over the state, with the request that they be consulted when creation of a new charter under the home rule amendment is considered. Copies will go also to political committees and newspapers.

The models are proposed to "use the prestige of the nonpartisan Rhode Island Home Rule Association to implement constitutional home rule where vague wording may lead to unfavorable rigging by entrenched political interests," said John H. Nightingale, Jr., president of the group.

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field

¹See the REVIEW, December 1950, page 573.

¹See the REVIEW, July 1951, page 360.

services of the National Municipal League, addressed the meeting. He commented that the preparation of the models was the second important step in Rhode Island for securing efficient home rule.

Leagues of Women Voters Have Numerous Irons in Fire

A high pressure campaign has been conducted this fall by the League of Women Voters of New York City to get out the vote. During registration week great stress was placed on the necessity for voters to register in order to be eligible for voting this November and in next year's primary. Radio stations cooperated by making spot announcements as to the league's willingness to answer questions on election matters over the telephone. Daytime volunteers covered the switchboard from nine to five, when members of the evening branch took over until 10 P.M. "Where do I vote?" and "Am I eligible to vote?" were among the most asked queries. All told, the league answered more than 500 calls. A sound truck was "manned" at busy street intersections, where volunteers called on all to register and distributed flyers with registration dates and information on permanent personal registration. Posters giving similar information were plastered all over the city—hotels, residence clubs, YMCA's, YWCA's, libraries, grocery stores, etc., etc.

In outlining aims for 1951-52, Mrs. Jane S. Kelley, president of the League of Women Voters of New York State, comments that "an unequalled opportunity for service now lies before the league." She recites what the group has been doing to bring to the voters a consciousness of their civic duties—through citizenship schools, candidates' meetings, information about primaries, registration and election. Many

success stories may be told but much work lies ahead. Chief field of activity is the fight to secure permanent personal registration. The league has been campaigning for this for a number of years. A legislative sponsor for a P. P. R. bill in the 1952 legislature has already been secured and there is real hope for success.

The League of Women Voters of Atlanta gave wide distribution to an issue of its monthly *Facts* in which the candidates for the fall Democratic primary were listed. The league does not endorse candidates¹ but biographical information was reported for each candidate, as well as his answers to specific questions such as (to city council candidates): "What steps will you take toward establishing a uniform merit system to cover all city employees?" "Will you support initiation by city council of a referendum enabling the people of Atlanta to vote on home rule?"

Fall Conferences

The League of Women Voters of Massachusetts held a fall conference at Concord. "Some Problems of Administration of Public Welfare and Education" was the subject of the morning session. In the afternoon eleven group sessions discussed structure and administration of government, public relations, economic policies, education, voters service, etc.

"Next Steps for Arlington" was discussed by a panel arranged by the Arlington, Virginia, league at its Institute on Local Government. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, and Mrs. Harold A. Stone, formerly a vice president of the National League of Women Voters spoke at a luncheon on "Progress in Council-manager Government."

¹This applies to all leagues of women voters.

A report on the 1951 session of the Illinois legislature is featured in the bulletin of the League of Women Voters of Illinois. In addition to a general "summary of a complex session," by Helen C. Foreman, the league lists the names of each legislator with a record of his roll call vote on nine significant bills. "The nine we have selected," says the bulletin, "concern matters of great public interest upon which there was real division of opinion at the roll call stage. They are not all bills upon which the league took a position."

Numerous leagues are studying state government and state constitutions. Among them is the Ohio league which is supporting the calling of a constitutional convention, a question to be submitted to the voters in November 1952. The Connecticut state league also continues to stress the need of constitutional revision.

The league in South Carolina has begun a study of state government with emphasis on the constitution. According to a report by Miss Flora Belle Surles, in the Charleston *Evening Post*, it will make a detailed study of the three branches of government, with attention to citizen representation and "whether under the present system equal representation is had." Preparatory to the study a workshop was conducted by Dr. Anne King Gregorie of the Charleston County league, chairman of the committee on the structure of state government, for the committee and other league members.

City Secrets Probed

Seven New York citizen organizations recently banded together to issue a joint statement declaring that a "wall of secrecy in the city government prevents civic organizations from obtaining information to which the public is entitled." Information

which has been denied the group deals with qualifications of 500 appointees to exempt city jobs, the number of provisional jobholders, as well as details concerning the financing of items not in the regular city budget. The report cites specific instances in which the information asked has not been forthcoming. If no action is secured, the issue will be taken to the courts.

The group has made a survey of fourteen city departments to determine their practices in the use of standards and measurements. Of nine departments heard from, seven state they have no standards for measuring performance.

* * *

New Season Begins

"Looking Ahead with Chicago" was the theme of the first weekly forum meeting of the Chicago City Club's fall season, addressed by Dr. Louis Wirth of the University of Chicago. The club will follow its pattern of the past 50 years in working for the improvement of the civic, economic and social life of the city. "Many significant results have been achieved as year by year the members put their shoulders to the wheel," says President John A. Lapp in *The City Club Bulletin*. Members were urged to send club officers their suggestions and criticisms.

* * *

Ten Years of Service

A Report of Activities and Aims for a Better Central Atlanta has been issued by the Central Atlanta Improvement Association, organized "to foster, protect, promote, maintain, upbuild and encourage the civic, social, commercial and industrial welfare of the city of Atlanta." Since its organization in 1941 the association has sponsored or participated in many activities, among them passage of a smoke abatement ordinance, a long range program for adequate parking facilities, slum clear-

ance housing program, survey of unmarked streets and signs placed thereon, passage of a fifteen-million dollar major municipal postwar program and a city traffic engineering program headed by a trained traffic engineer.

* * *

This Is 'The Berries'

"Pick and choose," says the Philadelphia Committee of 70 in its *Civic Affairs*, apropos of election day. "The straight ticket is the lazy man's ticket. . . . Let's be as smart in selecting our candidates in November as a housewife is in picking a box of berries. Find out . . . what the berries are like in the middle of the box and at the bottom. Get rid of the bad ones. Pick and choose. Elect the best box of candidates regardless of which party they are from."

* * *

Planning Conference

The city's first regional conference on planning was arranged by the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning. Four sessions discussed the need for planning in the region, planning the community's development, the officials' responsibilities for planning and what can the citizen contribute to the planning process. Speakers represented not only Philadelphia but also New Jersey and near-by Pennsylvania counties.

* * *

Tennessee Constitution Convention

The Tennessee Citizens' Committee for a Limited Constitutional Convention will conduct a statewide campaign for a favorable vote in August 1952 on calling a constitutional convention. The committee is sponsored by numerous statewide groups including the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, the League of Women Voters,

Farm Bureau, Education Association, Joint Labor Legislative Council, Congress of Parents and Teachers, Tennessee Municipal Association and the County Judges Association, the last two representing city and county governing officials. One of the six subjects to be taken up by a constitutional convention, if the voters favor its calling, is home rule for cities and counties.

* * *

Smoke Abatement

Smoke abatement is high on the list of objectives of the New York Citizens Union. And, say those living within the city, more power to its efforts. An attractive twelve-page booklet, *You Can Do Something about SMOKE*, should be read and acted on by all city dwellers. It discusses what smoke costs, what the tenant and the janitor can do to prevent excess smoke, and what one may do about his neighbor's smoke. The union is supporting a new air pollution bill now before the city council which, it is hoped, will make for greater smoke control.

* * *

Sewage System Discussed

A panel discussion on a sewage disposal system was held at the annual meeting of the Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan. Taking part were Jay F. Gibbs, city manager; Allen T. Carlisle, city engineer; and Walter Drury, of the engineering firm responsible for the design of the city's disposal system. The league elected Stanley Schlee as its president for the coming year, and passed a motion that the president appoint a delegate to the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in November.

Political Scientists View Ohio Basic Law

**Stephen Wilder Foundation
Issues Cooperative Study**

THE INITIATIVE of the Social Science Section of the Ohio College Association and a grant from the Stephen H. Wilder Foundation have provided the people of Ohio with *An Analysis and Appraisal of the Ohio State Constitution 1851-1951*. The purpose of the 100-page monograph, as stated in the preface, is to provide background information "concerning the nature, virtues and shortcomings of the present Ohio state constitution," to assist the people in casting an informed ballot on the question of calling a constitutional convention in 1952.

The monograph undertakes "to review the provisions of the present document, point out obsolete provisions, suggest alternatives to present ones based on the experience of other states, and offer suggestions for needed additions to make our basic law adequate to the demands of a modern age."

The ten chapters are: The Process of Constitutional Change, Initiative and Referendum, the Executive Department, all by Harvey Walker, Ohio State University; Ohio General Assembly, by David King, University of Akron; Courts and the Judiciary, by Warren Cunningham, Miami University; Suffrage and Elections, by Ben A. Arneson, Ohio Wesleyan University; Taxation and Finance, by Valdemar Carlson, Antioch College; Home Rule and Local Government, by Donovan F. Emch, O. Garfield Jones and Harold T. Towe, University

of Toledo; Corporations under the Constitution, by Lloyd A. Helms, Bowling Green State University; and The Bill of Rights in the Constitution, by P. T. Fenn, Oberlin College.

A consistent effort is made throughout the study to call attention to obsolete provisions or provisions of an essentially legislative character which, in general, the authors point out can be weeded out of a constitution only as a result of a general review by a convention.

Single copies may be obtained on request from the Stephen H. Wilder Foundation, 921 Dixie Terminal Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio. Additional copies are 50 cents each.

'Better Relations Between the Motorist and His Government'

This is the imaginative title of a staff report to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, prepared under the direction of J. O. Mattson, assistant to the president of the Automotive Safety Foundation. The report is further described as, "A Pilot Study of Driver and Vehicle Services."

No one is likely to contradict the assertion in the foreword that "This is the report of the first broad-scale study of motor vehicle administration ever made in the United States." Neither will anyone who studies it doubt that it sets a new and commendable standard in attractive effective presentation for reorganization reports. Good use is made of photographs, simple charts and two-color offset printing. The most striking novelty is the use of handwritten marginal notes and underlining to call attention to important problems and solutions. It is all in 41 pages

with generous margins to rest the eye or engage the pencil of the reader.

Here for once is a public report not intended to be kept hidden under a bushel. The foreword makes this promise: "Because of its potential value to other states, this report is being reprinted in order that copies can be made available to governors, motor vehicle administrators, officials of national organizations and others interested in this important field."

Ask for State Study

The board of trustees and the executive committee of the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey have adopted a resolution recommending that all gubernatorial candidates in the next general election be "urged to pledge leadership in the establishment of a state government study commission and in effecting such administrative reorganization as found necessary to the end that Missouri may have the most efficiently and economically managed government possible." The survey has issued a letter to civic and political leaders throughout Missouri quoting the resolution, in the hope that it will come to the attention of all Missourians who may seek the governorship.

* * *

The Long and the Short of It

The California Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation may have made some kind of record, as the following statistics on Parts 3 and 4 of its 1951 serial report indicate:

Part Three. State and Local Taxes in California: A Comparative Analysis. Report of the Committee Research Staff, William K. Schmelzle, executive secretary and director of research. Sacramento, April 1951. xxiv, 524 pp., appendix 530 pp. (total 1,078). Height 11 inches; girth 20 inches; weight 4 pounds, six ounces.

Part Four. State and Local Fiscal Policy During the National Emergency. Sacramento, June 1951. 3 pp. Height 9 inches, weight $\frac{1}{4}$ ounce.

Part Three is a veritable encyclopedia on the history, administration and yields of state and local taxes in California and includes hundreds of pages of comparative information, most of it in tabular form, on taxation and expenditures, state by state, including the collections of various federal taxes. Anybody studying state and local taxes, who can get hold of this encyclopedia, will be heavily indebted to the California legislature and to Dr. Schmelzle and his nine research associates and eight assistants.

The gist of Part Four of the committee report is summarized in the last sentence: "Every citizen of California should demand therefore that a halt be called, at least for the duration of the present emergency, upon the continuous and unwise expansion of government spending which has occurred on both the state and local levels since the end of World War II."

* * *

Syracuse Little Hoover Study

The Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, doing the staff work for the Citizens Non-Partisan Tax Commission, created in September 1950 by the common council with no appropriation, has issued staff reports and memoranda on the following: fire, public works, police, school and miscellaneous departments; budget requirements; non-property tax revenues; forecast of revenue deficiency; and debt service requirements and capital appropriations.

* * *

Annual Meetings

The Iowa Taxpayers Association held its 17th annual meeting at Cedar Rapids, October 4 and 5. Speakers included United States Senator Wal-

face Bennett of Utah, State Senator John Van Ness of Indiana and Congressman Ben Jensen of Iowa.

The fifth annual dinner meeting of the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council was held October 19 with Governor Johnston Murray as principal speaker.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association will hold its 21st annual meeting in Newark, November 30. Congressman Noah M. Mason of Illinois will address the afternoon session and Senator Owen Brewster of Maine will speak at the evening session.

Research Articles and Pamphlets

Auditing

Performance (or Operational) Auditing for the City of Detroit. Detroit 26, Michigan Citizens Research Council, *Council Comments*, July 30, 1951. 4 pp.

City-county Consolidation

City-county Consolidation Amendment for Philadelphia. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1951. 7 pp.

Council-Manager Government

The Town Manager Plan in Massachusetts (revised). Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1951. 21 pp.

Defense

Civil Defense. Summary of the Proceedings of the Eighth Institute of the University of New Hampshire. Durham, the University, Bureau of Government Research, *New Hampshire Town and City Notes*, March 1951. 38 pp.

Education

The Case of the Dismissed Teachers. A Mixup—and a Way Out. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Newsletter*, August 20 and September 4, 1951. 3 pp. each.

Education. The Current Situation. Staff Report to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 49 pp.

School Budget Increased. Lackawanna (New York), Tax Research Bureau, *Comments*, August 1951. 6 pp.

Status of School Building Program. (Including Chart, Progress Record for School Building Projects, San Francisco) San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, August 1951. 3 pp.

Fire

County Administered Fire Protection. A Case Study in a Metropolitan Area. By James Trump and Morton Kroll. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951. 86 pp. Tables.

Grants-in-aid

They're Your Dollars. A Program to Encourage a Comprehensive Study of Federal Grants-in-aid to State and Local Governments. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1951. 16 pp. Tables.

Home Rule

City and County Home Rule in Texas. By John P. Keith. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 176 pp. \$2.

Intergovernmental Relations

Intergovernmental Relations in West Virginia. By James E. Larson and Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1951. 108 pp.

Legislatures

An Appraisal and Review of the Special Session of June 18-29, 1951. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report*, August 15, 1951. 16 pp.

Legislative Expenditures. A Comparative Study of Hawaii and Mainland Jurisdictions. By Daniel W. Tuttle, Jr. Honolulu, University of

Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 47 pp. 50 cents.

Local Government

Local Public Administration, Taxes and the General Assembly. Legislative Report, 67th Illinois General Assembly. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, August 1951. 19 pp.

Mayors

A Handbook for Iowa Mayors. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1951. 47 pp. \$2.

Municipal Government

The Cities Hold Their Own. The League's Comparative Report on 25 Western Pennsylvania Cities. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, August 1951. 17 pp. Tables.

Local Government. By William Miller. New York 3, New York University School of Law, 1950 *Annual Survey of American Law*, 1951. 28 pp.

Michigan Cities and Villages: Organization and Administration. By Claude R. Tharp. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, 1951. 40 pp. 50 cents.

Milwaukee City and Schools 403 Governmental Activities. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, August 31, 1951. 4 pp.

Parking

Parking Authority Referendum. New Haven 10 (Connecticut), Taxpayers Research Council, *Council Comment on New Haven Affairs*, August 30, 1951. 2 pp.

Peddlers

Regulation of Peddlers. By Ernest H. Campbell and Ben Grosscup, Jr. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 81 pp. \$1.50.

Police

One-Man Radio Patrol Cars Work Well in San Francisco Police Reorganization. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, August 7, 1951. 1 p.

Police Precincts. Detroit 26, Michigan Citizens Research Council, *Council Comments*, August 6, 1951. 2 pp.

Sick Leave for Police Department. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, *Governmental Brief*, August 31, 1951. 3 pp.

Public Health

New Standards in Public Health Administration. Pennsylvania Makes Some Very Sweeping Changes. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, September 1951. 7 pp.

Public Libraries

The Regional Library and the State Aid Program. Proceedings of the Public Library Administration Section, 15th Annual Institute of Governmental Research, 1950. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1951. 31 pp. \$1.

Third Institute. Public Library Management, 1951. (Outline of two-day program for library trustees, librarians and interested citizens with summaries of remarks and illustrative materials.) Madison 6, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, Bureau of Government, 1951. 47 pp. \$1.

Political Parties

Our Two-Party System. By Clarence A. Berdahl. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 52 pp.

The Rise of the Democratic Party of Rhode Island. By Murray S. Steadman, Jr., and Susan W. Steadman. Brunswick, Maine, *The New England Quarterly*, September 1951. 13 pp.

Public Welfare

Welfare in Oklahoma as Compared with Other States. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, 1951. 16 pp.

Refuse and Disposal

Nobody Wants the Refuse. The League Explores an Answer to a Serious Disposal Problem. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, July 1951. 6 pp.

Retirement Systems

Municipal Pension Fund. Retirement System Established by 1915 Law Protects Over 15,000 Local Employees. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, September 3, 1951. 4 pp.

Salaries

Police—Fire Salaries. Duluth 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Citizens' Business*, October 11, 1951. 1 p.

Police—Fire Salaries. San Francisco 6, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, October 5, 1951. 1 p.

Sex Offenders

A Citizens' Handbook of Sexual Abnormalities and the Mental Hygiene Approach to Their Prevention. By Samuel W. Hartwell. Lansing, Governor's Study Commission on the Deviated Criminal Sex Offender (Michigan), 1950. 71 pp.

Commitment and Release of Sexual Deviates. Research report prepared pursuant to Proposal 296 by Senator William J. Connors. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1951. 43 pp.

Report of the Governor's Study Commission on the Deviated Criminal Sex Offender (Michigan). Lansing, the Commission, 1951. 245 pp.

Social Security

Social Security for Tennessee Municipal Employees. The State Enabling Legislation. Procedures for Bringing Municipal Employees under Social Security. By Wendell H. Russell.

Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *MTAS Report*, 1951. 18 and 20 pp. respectively.

Social Security—"Magic" or Muddle? Careful Planning and Study of the Program Now—Not New Legislation—Seen as Paramount Need. By W. Rulon Williamson. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, *Tax Review*, August 1951. 4 pp.

State Government

Reorganization—Progress Report. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *The New Hampshire Taxpayer*, July 1951. 3 pp.

The State's Functions Concerning the Assessment, Equalization and Collection of Property Taxes, Levied for Local Purposes. The Purchasing Division of the Department of Administration. Michigan Promotional Agencies. The Michigan Department of Social Welfare. (Staff Reports Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 34, 42, 70 and 145 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Record of the 1951 Minnesota State Legislature. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, 1951. 18 pp.

Financial Statistics of New Jersey Municipalities. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1951. 43 pp.

A Legal History of Property Taxation in California. Division I. Property Subject to Taxation. Division II. Property Exempt from Taxation. Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California State Senate, 1951. 81 pp.

A Modern Tax System for New Jersey. Newark 2, New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation, 1951. 8 pp.

Books in Review

The Office of Governor in the South.
By Coleman B. Ransome, Jr. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 263 pp. paper bound.

This fine little volume draws its value from the fact that the author camped out in the offices of several governors of southern states to view operations at first hand. Like any work involving comparisons between conditions in diverse locations, his study required financial assistance and this was provided by the southern universities and the TVA.

Here is provided such original data as the purposes of 100 callers at the governors' offices (23 per cent wanted jobs), the time-table of a governor's day, the traditions that anybody can go in and see the governor, and the simple fact that most governors are not in opportunity or practice the administrative chiefs that people suppose them to be because every action requires too many other consents.

The phrase "executive amendment" would sound strange in most states. In Alabama and Virginia the governor sometimes returns bills to the legislature unsigned with his suggestions for amendment. At this stage the two houses may approve or reject but not make further amendments. Or they may reject the amendments and enact the measure by repassage. In Alabama 235 executive amendments in 44 years were accepted in all but seven cases; in Virginia over three years 42 were all accepted.

In summary the author finds that the governor's legislative programs engage his prime energy, seeing people and being seen around the state comes next, and operating the administrative establishment as manager comes last because his logical authority is circum-

scribed—the departments and board run themselves. The south is little touched by modernism in state management!

R. S. C.

State and Local Government in the United States. By Cullen B. Gosnell and Lynwood M. Holland. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. xvi + 619 pp. \$5.

Local government in the United States has not in many years enjoyed a uniformly good press. More than 60 years ago James Bryce described city government as our "one conspicuous failure," and a decade later Lincoln Steffens filled in the details in *The Shame of the Cities*. However it is the state which has been written down in recent years in the most unflattering terms.

Yet against this far from encouraging background Professors Gosnell and Holland have contrived to project a picture both of promise and performance on the part of these units of government within recent years, which is shot through with a well considered and balanced optimism and which enables us still to cherish the belief that there is no good reason why we like little fishes, should rush straight way down the gullet of the great leviathan at Washington.

This immensely informative book is designed primarily to serve as a college textbook, but the larger aspects of the subject have not been submerged in the details. The result is a book which the general reader will find of much interest.

I would commend to the general reader's special attention chapters 1 to 5 inclusive, dealing with The Role of the State in the Union, State Rights, Civil and Political Rights and

State Constitutions; also chapters 20, 23 and 24, entitled Federal-Local Relations Among the States and The Outlook for State and Local Government. Perhaps the most important impression conveyed by these chapters as a whole is a certain change in attitude, one indeed of major significance, toward the problem of state and federal relations. The idea which prevailed on this subject, and which gave constitutional law its coloration even after the turn of the century, was that the national government and the states were inevitably rivals for power; today the controlling idea is that the American governmental system is a unit in which the national government and the states fill supplementary roles, each in accordance with its nature and attributes.

Gosnell and Holland deal with matters which touch the daily life and comfort of us all. Their treatment of these matters is characterized by scholarly thoroughness, good judgment, freshness and up-to-dateness, and is couched in an easy and readable style. To those who look upon themselves as civic leaders the book is a "must."

EDWARD S. CORWIN

Living in Seattle. By Lorin Peterson and Noah C. Davenport, Seattle 9, Public Schools, 1950. 287 pp.

Here is another of the growing list of manuals on city government which are proving so useful in the public schools. They fill out the picture for the students whose textbooks on civil government necessarily are vague when they leave the national and state levels and come down to municipal government.

After discussing the creation of a city and the drafting of its charter, the book proceeds to take up each of Seattle's services to the citizen under

such heads as managing the city, maintaining law and order, fighting disease, providing water, planning the city, making life more fun, etc. King County, in which Seattle is located, also comes in for its share of attention.

Much of the book's information is presented by way of imaginary conversations between officials and citizens. It is illustrated with drawings by Shuichi Hayashi, a public school student, as well as photographs and charts.

Congress—Its Contemporary Role. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York 3, New York University Press, 1951. 200 pp. \$3.50.

Dr. Griffith, who has been director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress since 1940, has written a friendly and tightly packed discussion of the present working and condition of Congress. It is a wise and perceptive statement. His chapter on political parties and Congress takes frank issue with the recent report of the American Political Science Association in favor of the existing situation, which he calls government by consensus, rather than the proposal for lengthening of the party whip and a drift toward something more like the party situation in the British Parliament.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Aerial Mapping

Aerial Surveys Save Time and Money. Reprinted from *Public Works Magazine*. Lansing 1, Michigan, Abrams Aerial Survey Corporation, 1951. 4 pp.

Topographic Mapping for Land Planning by Aerial Method. By Carl

Nominating Committee Makes Report

Reelection of Henry Bruère as president and John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick as vice presidents will be recommended by the nominating committee at the annual meeting of League members at 4:45 P.M. November 26 at the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati.

Mr. Bruère, pioneer governmental researcher, former public official and banker, has served one year as president. Mr. Linen, vice president of The Chase National Bank, and Mr. Van Schaick, lawyer and former New York State superintendent of insurance, were elected last year at the Buffalo Conference.

The committee will propose the election of six new regional vice presidents and the reelection of the eight current regional vice presidents as well as new members of the Council to replace the ten whose terms will expire at the end of this year.

For new regional vice presidents the committee has nominated A. B. Jackson, president, St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company; Cecil Morgan, vice president, Esso Standard Oil Company of Louisiana, Baton Rouge; Barry Goldwater, merchant and city council member, Phoenix; E. W. Palmer, president, Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and John B. Gage, former mayor, Kansas City, Missouri.

For the Council vacancies, the committee has suggested George S. Case, Jr., president, Lamson and Sessions Company, and presi-

dent, Citizens League of Cleveland; Thomas R. Reid, director of information, governmental affairs, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan; Edmund Orgill, president, Orgill Brothers and Company, Memphis; W. M. Cotton, director, community relations, The National Cash Register Company, Dayton; Rob Roy Macleod, Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation, Buffalo; Mark Matthews, former president, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Mrs. Maurine H. Noun, former president, League of Women Voters of Des Moines; Bayard Rustin, H. Faulkner, vice president, Seaboard Oil Company, Montclair, New Jersey; Albert E. Noelte, treasurer, Priscilla Braid Company, Central Falls, Rhode Island; William H. Mortensen, former mayor, Hartford, Connecticut.

Sprawling Cities

A group session Tuesday morning, November 27, presided over by Dr. R. V. Peel, director of the Bureau of Census, will examine the impact of local government of recent population trends and the decentralization of business and industry.

JOHN S. LINEN
First Vice President



GEORGE S. VAN
Second Vice President

